

LEVEL
ONE

slup

48th Year of Publication

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

WOKING

ENGLAND

JULY 1960

THREE SHILLINGS

Yale Divinity Library

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

The Islamic Review, the official organ of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England, and of Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore, Pakistan, is published monthly. In conformity with the objects of its publishers *The Islamic Review* is a cultural, non-political journal which takes no stand on the political policies of the various Muslim countries. In publishing such articles as deal with the world of Islam, its sole aim is to acquaint the component parts of the Islamic world with those problems and difficulties. Its aim in presenting political issues is analytical and informative. All opinions expressed are those of the individual writers and not those of *The Islamic Review*, or its publishers.

The Editor will be glad to receive articles for publication. These will receive careful consideration and an honorarium arrived at by mutual arrangement will be paid for all manuscripts accepted for publication. All articles not accepted will be returned to their authors, but the Editor regrets he is unable to accept responsibility for their loss in transit.

Annual subscription £1 10s. 0d.; single copies 3s. post free or the equivalent of this amount unless otherwise mentioned. Subscribers who remit foreign currency from abroad should kindly add bank charges to the amount remitted.

Registration to all countries at the equivalent rate of 12s. per annum per parcel.

The cost of sending 'The Islamic Review' by Air Mail varies with its destination, e.g. Egypt 3/-, Pakistan 4/- extra per copy

Orders for yearly subscriptions or single copies may be sent to:

Australia :

R. L. Priestley, Esq., 22a Trennery Street, West Richmond, S. Australia.

British Guiana :

H. B. Gajraj, Esq., 13 Water Street, Georgetown.

British West Indies :

Mohammed Ibrahim, 31 Sellier Street, Cunepe, Trinidad.

Burma :

Smart & Mookerdam, 221 Sule Pagoda Road, Rangoon.

Ceylon :

Messrs. W. M. A. Wahid Bros., P.O. 195, 233 Main Street, Colombo.

Dutch Guiana (S. America) :

Alhadj-Abdr. B. Jaggoe, "Doekan," Saramacca Straat 115 P.O. Box 926, Paramaribo, Surinam.

England :

"The Islamic Review," The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey. £1 10s. 0d. post free; single copies 3s.

Fiji :

The Desai Book Depot, Box No. 160, Suva.

France :

For name and address of the agent please apply to The Manager, "Islamic Review," as above. Annual Subscription, 1,800 francs post free; single copies 180 francs.

Holland :

NV Boekhandel Antiquariaat en Mitgeverij, C.P.J. van der Peet, Nwe Spiegelstraat 33-35, Amsterdam C.

Hong Kong :

Sambo's Library, P.O. Box 448, Hong Kong.

Kenya :

The City Bookshop, P.O. Box 1460, Fort Jesus Road, Mombasa.

Nigeria :

Messrs. Tika Tore Press Ltd., 77 Broad Street, Lagos.

Malaya :

Messrs. M. M. Ally & Co., P.O. Box 241, 103 Market Street, Kuala Lumpur.

Jubilee Book Store, 97 Battu Road, Kuala Lumpur.

N. Muhamed Ismail, P.O. Box 233, 13 Jalan Masjid, Ipoh, Perak.

A. Abdul Rahim, 31 Jalan Ibrahim, Johore Bahru.

South Africa :

Messrs. Union Printing Works, 91 Victoria Street, Durban, Natal.

Persian Gulf :

Messrs. Ashraf Bros., Import-Export, Bahrain.

Messrs. Ashraf Bros., Import-Export, Kuwait.

Tanganyika Territory :

Messrs. Janoowalla-Store, P.O. Box 210, Tanga.

The United States of America :

The International Muslim Society, Inc., P.O. Box 37, Manhattanville, Station J, New York, 27 N.Y. \$5.00 post free; single copies 0.45 c.

Western Germany :

Der Imam, Die Moschee, 7/8 Brienner Strasse, Wilmersdorf, Berlin. D.M.18.00 post free; single copies D.M.1.00.

AGENTS IN INDIA

Sh. Mohammad In'aam-ul-Haque, House No. 100 — A Class, A'zampore, Malakpeth, Hyderabad-Deccan.

Messrs. Usmania Book Depot, 104 Lower Chitpur Road, Calcutta.

S. Ziya Karim Rizvi, Bhagalpur.

Islamia Book Depot, Newspaper Agent, New Market, Tattarpur Chowk, Bhagalpur City (Bihar).

AGENTS IN PAKISTAN

Eastern Pakistan

Abdul Samad Jamali, B.A., East Pakistan Islam Mission, 28 Purana Mogul Tuli, Nawabpur Road, Dacca.

Majlis Bookstall, Bangla Bazaar, Dacca.

Shamim Book Agency, 1 Johnson Road, Dacca.

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., 5/16, Takarhat Lane, Nawabpur Road, P.O. Box 178, Dacca.

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., Newsagents, Jessore Road, Khulna.

Messrs. News Front, 75 Jubilee Road, Chittagong.

Begum Noor Jehan, c/o Md. Wahed Bakhsh, Jinnah Road, P.O. Dist., Jessore.

Messrs. T. Ahmad & Co., P.O. Santahar, Dist. Bogra.

Muhammad Zahidul Huq, Esq., Station Road, P.O. Sonapur, Dist. Noakhali.

Pakistan Library; Booksellers & Stationers, Magura, Jessore.

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., Court Road, Chittagong.

The Pakistan News Agency, Station Road, Saidpur, Dist. Rangpur.

Shah Tabarak Hossain, Esq., Newspaper Agent, P.O. Alamnagar, Dist. Rangpur.

Farooq Library, Booksellers, Rajshahi.

Subscriptions may begin with any desired number.

Kindly quote your subscriber's number when corresponding.

Continued on page 2

THE TRIUMPH OF THE HOLY QUR'AN

by

MAULANA SADR-UD-DIN

Characteristic teachings of the Qur'an. The Qur'an a modern book. Rights of Non-Muslims in a Muslim State. Muslims do not worship the Black Stone. The Qur'an a guardian over previous scriptures. Modern Christianity a relic of ancient idol-worship, and a host of other subjects discussed.

Price 8/- post free

Can be obtained from:

**THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION
AND LITERARY TRUST**

Woking - Surrey - England

Literature on Islam in Dutch

EEN INTERPRETATIE VAN DE ISLAAM

by

R. L. MELLEMA, Lit. Ind. Drs.

*Wetenschappelijk Medewerker van het Koninklijk Instituut
voor de Tropen te Amsterdam.*

A valuable introduction to Islam in the Dutch language.

165 pages. Numerous photographs and illustrations.

Besides dealing with the fundamental teachings of Islam the history of the Muslim world up to date has also been briefly discussed in this volume.

Price f.5.50 or 10/6 including postage.

Can be obtained from:

**THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION
AND LITERARY TRUST**

Woking - Surrey - England

or

G. A. Bashir, 54 Ruychrocklaan, The Hague, Holland

Islamic Thought

Publication Office: Rabia Manzil, Badar Bagh,
Muslim University, Aligarh, India.

**A Quarterly Journal devoted to
Islamic Research**

IF YOU WISH TO KNOW...

- ★ What the contemporary implications of Islamic belief are...
- ★ What kind of social, political and economic order Islam envisages...
- ★ How the modern Muslims set about the task of reorientating and making up-to-date the Islamic injunctions related to life in all its multi-sided aspects...
- ★ What the meaning of Islamic Research is...

BECOME A REGULAR SUBSCRIBER

RATES OF SUBSCRIPTION

Rs. 5 (India and Pakistan)

\$ 1.50 (for Dollar Area)

10/- (for Sterling Area, payable by British Postal Order)

Subscription in the U.S.A. will be received by the Islamic Centre of San Francisco, 2345 Polk Street, San Francisco 9, California

An attractively produced and re-designed

ISLAMIC CALENDAR

for

1961 C.E.

(1380-1381 A.H.)

with the following distinctive features:

- (a) Solar (Shamsi) and Lunar (Qamari) year dates are shown in two different colours printed on one tab to each month.
- (b) Dates of principal Muslim and National holidays in the various Muslim countries of the world are shown on each tab.
- (c) The Calendar Card bears a four-colour design with the Ka'bah at Mecca in the background on which is super-imposed the Arabic word "Allah" in which are laced the variegated flags of principal Muslim countries.

PRICE 4 SHILLINGS EACH (Post Free)

Orders can be placed with our local representative or with

**The Islamic Review, The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking, Surrey, England**

or

*The Islamic Review, Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road,
Lahore 7, Pakistan*

Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The design of the cover is conceived around the well-known Arabic sentence 'Allah jalla Jalaala-hu (God whose glory be manifest!), and is the work of an Egyptian Muslim artist.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

The late *Maulana* Muhammad 'Ali, M.A., LL.B. (d. 1931), a devout Pakistani Muslim who spent the whole of his life in writing on and expounding Islam. In modern times there is no other Muslim scholar who has written in English so extensively and with such profound scholarship on Islam and its teaching. He has left behind him many important books, one of which is *The Religion of Islam*, a voluminous reference book dealing with practically every aspect of Islam.

★

Sayyid Amin Ahmad, an Indian Muslim, is a retired civil servant and is a keen student of the Qur'an.

★

Dr. Safa A. Khulusi, Ph.D. (Lond.), an Iraqi Muslim scholar, was formerly a Lecturer in Arabic in the University of London and is now Director-General of Propaganda in the Ministry of National Guidance, the Government of Iraq, Baghdad.

★

'Abd al-Taib Bin Mahmud, a Malay Muslim, is reading law at the University of Adelaide, Australia.

★

Major-General S. Shahid Ahmad, a Pakistani Muslim, is Chairman, the Small Industries Corporation, Karachi, Pakistan.

★

W. B. Bashyr-Pickard, B.A. (Cantab.), an English Muslim, has written a number of books on Islam. He also writes fiction and poetry.

★

K. M. Yusuf, M.A., LL.B., an Indian Muslim, is a keen student of the culture of Islam.

★

R. L. Mellema, a Dutch Muslim, is the Curator of the Islamic Hall of the Tropical Museum, Amsterdam, Holland.

★

Dr. S. M. 'Imamuddin, a Pakistani Muslim scholar, is a member of the teaching staff of the University of Dacca, Dacca, Pakistan.

The Islamic Review

JULY 1960

48th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Contents

Editorial	3
The Divine Divan ... by W. Bashyr Pickard	5
The Language of Prayer ... by The Late <i>Maulana</i> Muhammad 'Ali	6
The Qur'an on the Mirage and the Realities of Life ... by Sayyid Amin Ahmad	10
The Potential Contribution of Islam to World Peace ... by Dr. S. A. Khulusi	11
Should Muslim Law be separated from Religion? ... by 'Abd al-Taib bin Mahmud	13
Pakistan's Traditional Handicrafts ... by Major-General S. Shahid Hamid	16
The Three Promises of the Qur'an ... by S. M. Ahmed	18
Calligraphy under the Mughals ... by K. M. Yusuf	19
What has attracted me to Islam ... by R. L. Mellema	24
The French Occupation of Algeria and the National Risings of the Nineteenth Century ... by Dr. S. M. 'Imamuddin	26
Centres of Culture in Early Islam ... by Afzal Iqbal	32
Islam in England	37
Book Reviews	38
What Our Readers Say	40

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

AGENTS IN PAKISTAN (continued)

S. Masood Ahmad, Esq., Bookseller & Newsagent, P.O. Ghoramara, Rajshahi.

Sri Madhuzdan Bhattachari, Jee Newsagent, Zindabazar, P.O. Sylhet.

Messrs. M. Aslam Khan, Newspaper Agents, Khan Manzil, Chandpur, Dist. Tippera.

The Manager, The News Agency, Kushtia.

Kausar Ali, Esq., M.A., Professor Daulat-pur College, Daulatpur-Khulni.

M. A. Majeed, B.A., Newspaper Agent, Kohinoor Library, Faridpur.

H. K. Roy, Esq., c/o Railway Bookstall, Dinajpur.

M. A. Siddiqi, Proprietor of Alam News Agency, Lalmonirhat Rangpur.

The Manager, Azmat News Agency, Chawk Bazaar, Barisal.

S. M. Hassan, Book House, Hashmia Restaurant, Station Road, Chittagong.

Western Pakistan

"The Islamic Review", Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore.

The Manager, Spring Works, 3 Temple View, Preetzy Street, Karachi.

Victory Bookstores, Booksellers & Publishers, Rawalpindi.

The New Quetta Bookstall, Jinnah Road, Quetta.

AGENT IN KASHMIR

Abdul 'Aziz Shora, Esq., Editor, "Roshni", Srinagar, Kashmir.

Annual Subscription Rs. 16/12, post free; single copies Rs. 1/11.

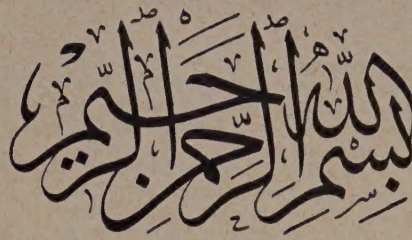
The Islamic Review

Founded by THE LATE AL-HAJJ
KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

The Shah Jehan Mosque,
Woking, Surrey, England

Telephone: WOKING 679
Telegrams & Cables: MOSQUE, WOKING

London Office:
18 Eccleston Square, Victoria, London,
S.W.1. Telephone: VIC. 2591



نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ الْكَرِيمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets . . ." —THE HOLY QUR'AN 33 : 40
"There will be no Prophet after me" —THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLVIII No. 7

JULY 1960 C.E.

Muharram 1380 A.H.

THE MUSLIMS AND ISRAEL

"All Muslims are as one body. If a man complain of a pain in his head, his whole body complaineth, and if his eye complain, his whole body complaineth."

"All Muslims are like one wall, some parts strengthening others in such a way they must support each other."

"Help thy brother in adversity."

(The Prophet Muhammad)

Introducing Islam

In a speech on the last anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution, President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir spoke harsh words against His Imperial Majesty the Shah and Government of Iran. He strongly criticized the Shah's statement at a recent press conference that Iran's *de facto* recognition of Israel in 1950, which became dormant when the Musaadiq régime came to power soon afterwards, and which it was thought had thereby been virtually withdrawn, was still valid. The Iranian Government sharply reacted to President 'Abd al-Nasir's criticism, and unfriendly diplomatic measures were taken and retaliated on both sides.

It is our policy to refrain from siding with one Muslim Government against another, and to advocate most enthusiastically the drive for unity and solidarity among the Muslim peoples, guided by the word of God ("And hold fast by the covenant of God all together and be not disunited"—The Qur'an, 3: 102), the truth of which has been tangibly demonstrated throughout the history of Islam. We shall therefore attempt to review the arguments that have been or could be advanced on both sides in the United Arab Republic-Iranian controversy, and leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the rights and wrongs of the matter. But before we do this, we feel we must give a short history of the State of Israel. Israel was established in 1948 by a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly which decreed the partition of Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews. It is an incontrovertible fact that this resolution, which was passed by a narrow majority, was procured solely by the efforts of the United States of America which as a result of domestic and foreign Zionist influence exerted economic and other pressure upon weak countries compelling them to vote according to its dictates.

Israel now occupies an area considerably in excess of that allocated to it under the partition scheme. By massacre and terror, Zionist gangs in 1948 expelled about one million Arabs, representing about 80 per cent of the Arab population from the areas they occupied in Palestine, a land that had been Arab for well nigh a thousand years and in which until 1918 the Arabs constituted about 90 per cent of the population. They took all the lands and property of these people who are now refugees rotting in camps in the neighbouring countries. Several resolutions by the United Nations demanding that Israel withdraw from the areas not allocated to it under the partition scheme, and repatriate Arab refugees who want to return to their homes or give them adequate compensation, have been brazenly and utterly ignored by Israel. Aggressive Israeli ventures against the neighbouring Arab countries (the most recent being heinous aggression against Egypt launched

in 1956 in collaboration with Britain and France) have been repeatedly condemned in no uncertain terms by the United Nations.

The professed aim of the Zionist movement, as expressed on many occasions by Zionist leaders both inside and outside Israeli Government circles, is eventually to establish a State for the Jews encompassing vast areas of the neighbouring countries in which the Arabs are the rightful indigenous inhabitants; this, the Zionists say, would be the fulfilment of Biblical prophecies and the realization of the rights of the Jewish people to lands which they abandoned more than two thousand years ago.

What is recognition?

This, then, is the State of Israel which the Iranian Government wants to recognize, or has recognized, and which the United Arab Republic says it should not recognize. What are the factors which motivate the Iranian and United Arab Republic Governments in their respective attitudes to this problem?

It is claimed for Iran that the recent announcement by His Imperial Majesty was merely to confirm that the recognition accorded to Israel in 1950 remains technically valid. That recognition, it is pointed out, was merely *de facto*, and as contrasted with recognition *de jure*, it is not in international law final and does not imply any approval on the part of the Iranian Government of the actions of Israel or its behaviour in the domestic or international spheres. Further, it is contended that the State of Israel, whatever one may think of its policies and behaviour, is a fact and it would be unrealistic and ostrich-like to try to ignore its existence by denying it recognition. Finally, it is argued that whatever Iran does about the recognition of Israel is its own business, and neither the United Arab Republic nor anybody else has any right to question Iran's attitude or interfere in what is solely within its sovereign powers and domestic jurisdiction.

As regards the validity and nature of State recognition, it must be pointed out that the difference in international law between recognition *de facto* and recognition *de jure*, which at one time was clear and important, has now for most practical purposes almost disappeared. Recognition *de facto*, like recognition of belligerency or insurgency, used to be merely an acknowledgement of the existence of a state of affairs without any implication about its validity. The practice grew, however, of attaching to recognition *de facto* many of the important privileges of recognition *de jure* — such as the exchange of diplomatic representation — so that now the difference between these two types of recognition has become tenuous. This is the preponderant view deduced from recent State practice, the writings of inter-

national jurists, and the decisions of international law tribunals. It is also noteworthy in this regard that even those who argue that there is a difference between the two types of recognition say that recognition *de facto* is but a preliminary to recognition *de jure*, which must follow in due course.

The interests of the international community

Recognition being so important an act for the States directly concerned and for the international community as a whole, since it decides a question of membership of that community, it is not properly an act entirely within the arbitrary discretion of States. For example, premature recognition of belligerency or insurgency for a rebelling or secessionist faction has always been considered an unfriendly act towards the parent State (the recognition of Katanga on the state of affairs prevailing in July, 1960, would thus be unfriendly towards the Congo Republic). Likewise, the withholding of recognition is viewed as dissatisfaction with the status or behaviour of the State seeking recognition, and is a means for inducing that State to comply with certain requirements affecting the international community generally or particular States (as in the case with the United States of America's refusal to recognize the Chinese People's Republic). Recognition should therefore be exercised in accordance with the principles of international justice and morality; and to admit to membership of the family of nations a State whose past and present propensities do not reasonably indicate that it will abide by the principles of international justice and morality or fulfil its just international obligations is an attack on these principles, and a disservice to the members of the international community (including the State deciding on recognition) for the benefit of whom the principles of international law have been formulated throughout the ages.

The grant or withholding of recognition to States, like the decision on an individual's membership in an ordinary club, is governed by objective criteria designed to promote the best interests of the majority of members concerned. And since recognition is an act of such great consequence it is only fair for all concerned that it should be treated in an enlightened manner and regulated in accordance with accepted principles. To require States to take such factors into consideration before deciding on recognition (which, as we have said, affects to a greater or lesser extent States other than those directly concerned) is not unwarrantable restriction on the sovereignty of States or interference in their domestic affairs.

Israel's "qualifications" and Arab rights

In the light of the above criteria, let us examine whether Israel qualifies for recognition and admission to membership of the family of nations. These criteria being *objective*, on the lines suggested above, it is irrelevant for our discussion to consider the isolated behaviour of certain Governments (for two wrongs never make a right), nor the fact that an act is merely a confirmation of a previous act done by the same State (an Arab proverb says: it is virtue for one to rectify his errors). It is asked, therefore, does Israel's past record show that it respects the principles of international law and morality and strives to fulfil its international obligations? Can an affirmative answer to this be in good conscience deduced from the fact that Israel occupies a greater part of Palestine than was allotted to it under the United Nations partition scheme, has expelled one million Arab refugees and has refused to allow them to return to their homes and denied them any form of compensation contrary to United Nations resolutions, has repeatedly committed provocative and aggressive acts, condemned by the United Nations, against the territory and peoples of the neighbouring Arab States, and has expressed expansionist aims in regard to neighbouring Arab territory?

If the Arabs have legitimate claims and rights against Israel — and these have been solemnly embodied in United Nations resolutions — they are entitled to utilize every device to secure the settlement of their claims and to prevent further violation of their rights. Not the least effective device for this purpose would be to embarrass Israel and to ensure that it is denied relations with foreign countries in the diplomatic, economic, cultural and other spheres until it fulfils its obligations and abandons its aggressive designs. Punitive measures of this kind, if pressed hard enough, would quickly induce Israel to see reason and mend its ways. Such an attitude on the part of the Arabs is pure self-defence; and States which recognize Israel and thereby assist it — are considered on this score to be condoning its unrequited sins and encouraging it in its brazen violation of unquestionable Arab rights, and also committing hostile or unfriendly acts towards the Arab nations.

Israel's glee at its recognition by Iran, and at this breach in Muslim defences against Zionism, knows no bounds; and its glowing at the consequent dispute between Iran and the Arab States is great. But what benefit is Iran likely to derive from its recognition

of Israel? It is clear that openly and directly any benefits for Iran will be insignificant compared with those reaped by Israel.

Vituperation or indignation?

One has the right to expect support and assistance from friends. At the least one expects they should not aid one's enemies. Muslim peoples are more than friends — they are natural and irrevocable brothers. It is understandable, therefore, if a Muslim Government feels disappointed and hurt when another Muslim Government supports its enemies. In the circumstances, President Jamal al-Nasir's outbursts against the Iranian Government for recognizing Israel, when stripped of their more colourful rhetoric, may also be seen less as mere vituperation and more like expressions of rightful indignation.

We append below the text of a telegram addressed to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah on the matter of Iran's recognition of Israel by the Shaykh Mahmood Shaltout, Rector of the Azhar University at Cairo. The reply of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah should allay many of the fears of the Arab world and reduce the exaggerated view taken of the nature of the Iran-Israel relationship to its proper dimensions.

The texts of the telegram of the Shaikh al-akbar of al-Azhar and His Imperial Majesty's reply are:

*To His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah,
Tehran, Iran.*

"The action of Your Majesty's Government in extending recognition to the Israelite highwaymen has aroused our feelings and those of all 'Ulemas of al-Azhar University. We believe that it has aroused similarly the feelings of all Muslims both in the West and East. This action is inconsistent with the efforts we have made to foster brotherly, scientific and religious bonds among the Islamic peoples, which efforts have received your own blessing. Therefore, we are sending you this message in the hope that you will reconsider this highly important decision in the interests of preserving unity among the Muslims.

*Mahmood Shaltout,
Rector, University of al-Azhar."*

His Imperial Majesty's reply:

"I was pleased to receive your telegram which is a proof of the bonds and unity of purpose of the Islamic Community. It was a source of pleasure that a misunderstanding has resulted in an exchange of views in the Islamic Community aimed at discovering the facts.

"As you already know, the Iranian Government accorded a de facto recognition to Israel in 1950. This recognition was confirmed during Dr. Musaddiq's government in 1951 when the Iranian envoy was recalled. There has been no 'de jure' recognition up to this date. This attitude of ours has been repeatedly appreciated by Muslim States and nations. We have no intention of changing this attitude. There can be, therefore, no cause for concern among the 'Ulemas and the Islamic Community.

"Nevertheless, I wish to make it clear, in order to assure Your Eminence and other honourable 'Ulemas of al-Azhar, that our attitude in the face of the Islamic Community interests has always been clear and consistent, based on the upholding of the rights of the Muslims in every part of the world, irrespective of racial or communal differences. It is for this reason that we have been a steady supporter of the principles of the interests of Islam in international bodies. We have been known to support the interests of Muslims in every major and minor issue, even in the case of the Muslim minority of Cyprus, and other cases.

"There is no need to recall that when the Suez question was before the Security Council, the Iranian delegate defended the legitimate rights of Egypt. Also, when foreign forces invaded Egypt, the Iranian Government did not refrain from condemning aggression by foreign troops, although we had no other interest there except that of the Islamic Community. Moreover, I personally took all the possible action necessary for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt.

"I hope that, with the guidance of Almighty God, we will follow this attitude which is based on our own and the Islamic Community's convictions.

"It is proper to point out that much closer attention should be paid to the policy of sowing discord, acting on rumours, probabilities, suspicions, and baseless malicious reports which are religiously condemned and which may well cause discord among the Islamic Community and bear unpleasant effects.

"I pray to Almighty God that He may help Your Eminence

succeed in strengthening the foundations and unity of the Islamic Community.

Muhammad Reza Pahlavi,
Sa'dabad Palace, Tehran."

The spectacle of one Muslim Government opposing another or warring with it, even in words, is very painful. It is not conducive to the best interests of the Muslim States between whom there are so many common denominators — religious, historical, geographical, economic, linguistic, etc. — and also have many

common grievances and problems against the Western powers, relics from the days of rabid imperialism when by brute force and the trick of divide-and-conquer the imperialists entrenched themselves in the Muslim world and selfishly dominated the wealth and fortunes of the Muslim peoples. In the struggle for progress and liberation from these foreign shackles the Muslim countries' hope for salvation lies in their solidarity and the presentation of a united, and consequently strong, front against their enemies. Squabbles and rancour among the Muslim countries are also detrimental to the cause of world peace.

THE DIVINE DIVAN

78

Thinkest thou of peace
That shall not cease?
If with strong will and keen desire
Thy heart with firm intention doth aspire
To grasp such priceless treasure,
Where wilt thou look? where seek? where sacrifice thy
leisure?
The world around thee and the world afar
Is tempest-toss'd with trouble. Everywhere a bar
Is set to stay thy passage to the realms of peace.
The restless waves, the howling winds show no surcease.
Dark clouds and thunder
And the ground under
Thy feet doth tremble! Seek not in this world for peace.
What, then?
Is there for men
No hope of peace, save when
Dark death shall open the door
'Twixt "Now" and "Evermore"?
Must life be tumult, passion, tossing, horror nor
Envisage any sweet assuagement till we know no more
Of love or hate,
Here in this earthly state?
Nay, nay!
But this I say:
"Be still and know that HE is LORD,
The One Belovéd and the One Adored.
Within thy heart, unassailable,
Peace shall dwell untameable.
Seek not without, but look within!
Thy Lord shall guide thee! Listen and forsake all sin."

79

Beyond the love of silver,
Beyond the love of gold,
Beyond the love of earthly things
Some song of music mutely sings
(How shall I say it? how with words be bold?),
Some song of music mutely sings,
As the petals of my heart unfold
Before the radiant sunshine of Thy mercies manifold.
'Tis the song of Thy Love,
Like some celestial dove,
Winging in happiness on the wings of serenity
Amidst the glades and the gardens of Thy glad Eternity.
Happy, happy dove
Of love!
And thy song brings rapture of fadeless flow'rs
And filleth all these working hours
With thoughts agleam
Of the One Supreme,
The Belovéd Lord,
Adored.

William Bashyr Pickard.



A beautiful specimen of the high standard of the excellence which Turkish calligraphists attained in transcribing verses of the Qur'an. The verse in Arabic in the vignette surrounded by a floral design when translated into English reads: "Is God not sufficient for His servant" (The Qur'an, 39 : 36).

THE LANGUAGE OF PRAYER

By the late MAULANA MUHAMMAD 'ALI

Could a worshipper use his own language while praying?

Naturally a man will unfold his heart before his Maker in the language in which he can most readily express his feelings, and this is fully recognized in Islam. The worshipper is at full liberty to open his heart before the great Maker of all in his own language and in any posture. The Qur'an speaks of the faithful as those "who remember God standing and sitting and lying on their sides" (3 : 190). Not only in private prayer but in the course of the public service as well, the worshipper is at liberty to pray to God in his own tongue, after or during the recitation of portions of the Qur'an, in a standing posture, or after utterance of words of Divine glory in that of bowing down or prostration, as taught by the Prophet Muhammad. In the public service such prayers would undoubtedly be limited, since the worshipper must follow the Imam, but in private prayer they may be of any length.

In public service Arabic language must be retained

The question, however, assumes a different aspect when the public service itself is considered, for, unless the public service is conducted in a language which is common to all Muslims, there must again be a failure in achieving the great end for which prayer is instituted. It cannot be greatly over-emphasized that the unification of the Muslims through prayer is as much an end and object of prayer as to bring man into communion with God. It is prayer that gathers together, daily, persons of different callings and different ranks and positions in society, under one roof, and on a perfect status of equality, and these homogeneous units are again united by the more extensive gathering for the Friday prayers, or the still larger assemblies at 'Id prayers, culminating in that mighty assemblage at Mecca of all nations and all races on the most perfect status of equality —

European, Asian and African, king and beggar, all clad in one dress — the annual concourse of the pilgrims from the farthest corners of the earth.

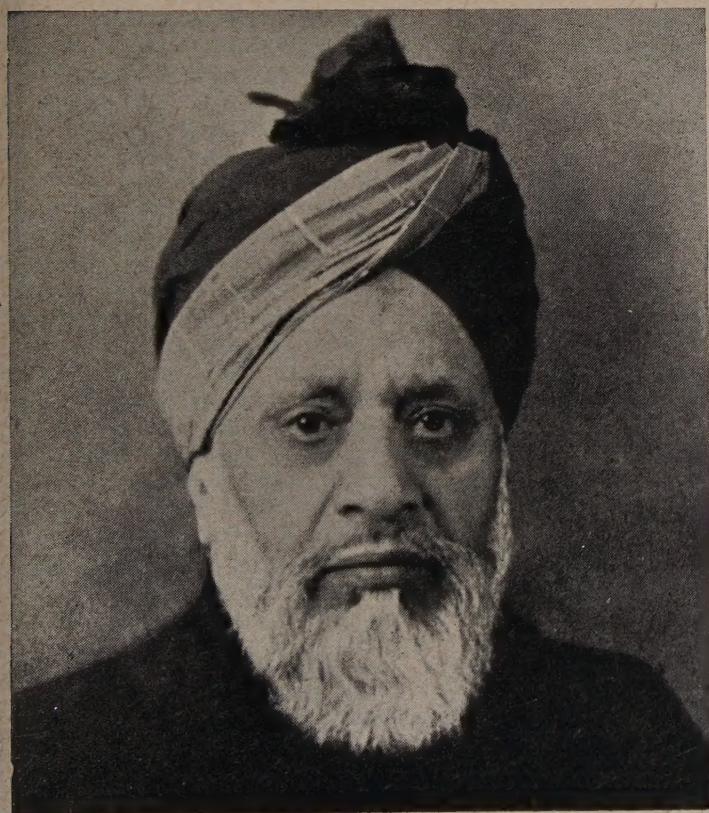
Now all these various gatherings, from the great gatherings of all nations at Mecca down to the smallest gathering in a village or local mosque, are expressly for Divine worship, and if there were a babel of languages prevailing in these gatherings, the object of the unification of the human race through Divine service — an idea unique to Islam — would fail altogether. The bond of a common language is one of the greatest factors towards unification, and this bond Islam has established by the use of a common language at the Divine service. This language, it is evident, could be none other than Arabic, the language of the Qur'an. Anyone who realizes the grand object which Islam has set itself of unifying the human race through Divine service will at once appreciate the necessity of having that service in Arabic.

Reasons for maintaining the practice of retaining Arabic in public service

It is only shortsightedness, intensified by ignorance of the wider issues of unification and civilization, that makes some men think that Divine service must be held in the language proper to each nation, and that a service held in any other language will not fulfil the purpose of worship. In the first place, the Islamic prayer does not consist of mere words of praise of the Divine glory and majesty, or the mere expression, in words, of the inner feelings of the heart. That no doubt is an important part of prayer, but even more important than this is the attitude of mind, the inner feeling itself, of which the words are meant to be an expression. Now this attitude of mind is produced, in the first place, by the atmosphere about the worshipper and by

the particular postures of reverence which he adopts. The mood, more than words, generates a true spirit of humility, and the first condition of a prayerful mind is humility, as the Qur'an itself lays down : " Successful indeed are the believers, who are humble in their prayers " (23 : 1-2). Suppose there is a man who takes part in a public service without understanding a word of Arabic. It would be entirely wrong to say that prayer does not benefit him, for there are the movements of his body, the raising of the hands to the ears, the standing up with folded hands, the bowing down, the placing of the forehead on the ground, the sitting down in a particular attitude of reverence, which all go a long way towards producing in him humility and consciousness of the Divine presence. He may not understand the language used, but here he is himself giving expression to his inner feelings in the language of his bodily movements. In fact, his whole self is expressive of what the words convey. It will indeed be more highly beneficial if he understands the spoken language also, but it is absurd to say that the language of movements has no meaning for him.

Now let us come to the language of words. The oft repeated expressions in the Islamic service are *Allahu Akbar*, *Subhana Rabbiy-al-'Azim*, *Subhana Rabbiy-al-A'la*, and the opening chapter of the Qur'an, called *al-Fatiha*. Now as regards the first expression there is hardly a Muslim in the world, whatever language he may speak, and whether educated or uneducated, young or old, male or female, who does not understand the meaning of *Allahu Akbar*. It is with this expression that a man enters into the Divine service and it is with it that he changes one posture of the body to another, so that with the very entrance in prayer, the mind receives an impression of the glory and majesty of God and assumes an attitude of prayerfulness to God and of humbleness before Him, and this impression on the mind is



The late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali

renewed at every change of movement, and thus the contemplation of Divine glory and greatness is the one occupation of mind during the service.

Take the second expression, *Subhana Rabbiy-al-'Azim*, the expression repeated when the worshipper is bowing down, and *Subhana Rabbiy-al-A'la*, repeated in the state of prostration. Even if a man does not understand their meaning, he does realize, when bowing, that he is bowing before the great God, and does realize when lying down prostrate that he has laid his forehead on the ground before Him Who is the Highest. Yet, even a child would not take more than half an hour to learn these phrases or learn their meaning. And similar is the case with the opening chapter of the Qur'an, which is so often repeated in prayer. A child, whatever language he may be speaking, can easily learn the seven short sentences of the *Fatiha* in a week, giving half an hour daily, and perhaps not more than half that time is needed to learn their meaning. Even if one were to conduct Divine service in one's own language, still one would have to spend some time in learning it, and the learning of the significance of the Arabic words is not more than a week's or, at the most, a month's work. And, keeping in view the grand object of unifying the human race through Divine service, a week or one month's time thus spent represents the most usefully spent period of a man's life.

Other advantages of maintaining Arabic in Divine service

There are two other considerations which make it necessary to maintain the Arabic language in Divine service. The Qur'an, parts of which are recited in Divine service, was revealed in the Arabic language, and it is a generally admitted fact that a translation can never fully express the ideas of the original. And when the original is the word of God, and the ideas expressed are those relating to God's majesty and glory, it is still more difficult to convey the full significance in a translation. Again, there is a music in the original which no translation can possibly retain. The music of the Qur'an is not simply in its rhythm but also in its diction. Now music plays an important part in producing an effect on the mind, and the recitation of the Qur'an thus serves the purpose of communicating grand and beautiful ideas to the accompaniment of music. Hence it is that the Islamic service has never stood in need of the artificial music of the organ, having within itself the true music of the human soul. Now even if a translation could convey something of the grand and rich ideas of the Qur'an, it could not convey the music which, along with the idea, exercises such a potent influence on the mind of man. Professor Palmer remarks in the Introduction to his *Translation of the Holy Qur'an* :

"The Arabs made use of a rhymed and rhythmical prose, the origin of which it is not difficult to imagine. The Arabic language consists for the most part of trilateral roots, i.e., the single words expressing individual ideas consist generally of three consonants each, and the derivative forms expressing modifications of the original idea are not made by affixes and terminations alone, but also by the insertion of letters in the root. . . . A sentence, therefore, consists of a series of words which would each require to be expressed in clauses of several words in other languages, and it is easy to see how a next following sentence, explanatory of or completing the first, would be much more clear and forcible if it consisted of words of a similar shape and implying similar modifications of other ideas. It follows then that the two sentences would be necessarily symmetrical, and the presence of rhythm would not only please the ear but contribute to the better understanding of the sense, while the rhyme would mark the pause in the sense and emphasize the proposition " (pp. liv, lv).

Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole says in his introduction to *Selections from the Qur'an*:

"The language has the ring of poetry, though no part of the Qur'an complies with the demands of Arab metre. The sentences are short and full of half-restrained energy, yet with a musical cadence. The thought is often only half-expressed; one feels the speaker has essayed a thing beyond words, and has suddenly discovered the impotence of language, and broken off with the sentence unfinished. There is the fascination of true poetry about these earliest soorahs; as we read them we understand the enthusiasm of the Prophet's followers, though we cannot fully realize the beauty and the power" (p. civ).

Thus Sale, in the preliminary discourse to his *Translation of the Holy Qur'an*, speaking of the style of the Holy Book, says:

"And in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent; of which the reader cannot but observe several instances, though he must not imagine the translation comes up to the original, notwithstanding my endeavours to do it justice" (p. 48).

The Fatiha or the Opening Chapter of the Qur'an

It will be seen from the above two quotations that even Western writers who have read the Qur'an in the original recognize that a translation of the Qur'an can convey neither the elements of music in its recitation, nor yet the full significance of the original. Let us take the opening chapter of the Qur'an as an example. This chapter, the *Fatiha*, is the most essential part of the Islamic prayer. The seven verses of this chapter must be recited in every *rak'ah* of every prayer, whether private or public; while to it is added in certain *rak'ahs* any other portion of the Qur'an. Take the recitation first. A reference to the transliteration and translation, given further on, will show that the translation has in it nothing of the musical cadence of the original, and the effect upon the ear of the mere recitation of words is quite lost in the translation. But even more important than this is the inability of any language to convey the exact significance of the short words of the original, even in long sentences. Take, for instance, the word *Rabb*, which occurs here first of all as an attribute of the Divine Being, and is the most frequently repeated of attributes in the whole of the Qur'an. In English it is generally translated as *Lord*, but that word does not at all convey the real significance of the Arabic word, *Rabb*, which carries with it the idea of *the fostering of a thing in such a manner as to make it attain one condition after another until it reaches its goal of completion*. It is a word composed of but two letters, *ra* and *ba*, yet the significance which it carries is so vast that even a whole sentence in any other language could not convey it fully. The word *Lord* or *Father* does not express that idea at all. The same is the case with the next following attributes, *Rahman* and *Rahim*, which are both derived from the same root *rahma* signifying *tenderness requiring the exercise of beneficence*, and are closely related in meaning; the former indicating that quality of love and mercy which comes into operation, even before the creation of man, by providing for him things which are necessary for his life; and the latter that which comes into operation when man makes use of these things and has thus done something to deserve it. No words in any other language can faintly express these great ideas and this fine distinction. Similar is the case with *'ibadah*, used in the middle verse, which is rendered in English by *worshipping*, but which really carries the meaning of *obedience coupled with the utmost submissiveness*. The word *ihdi*, occurring in the fourth verse, is rendered *guide*; but *hidaya*, the root from which it is derived, means *guiding and leading on the right way with kindness until one reaches the goal*. How could these ideas be expressed in small and simple words, suitable for a prayer, in any other language?

Indeed, this petition, which is of the essence of the whole institution of Islamic prayer, would lose its real significance by being translated into any other language.

Prayer as index of Muslim mentality

The ten ideas that the Opening Chapter of the Qur'an emphasizes

Thus the *Fatiha*, being the only essential portion of the Qur'an which must be repeated in every *rak'ah* of a prayer, may rightly claim to be the guiding principle of a Muslim's life, the one idea which rules all his other ideas, and therefore a true index of his mentality. The main principles underling the *Fatiha* may be considered briefly here. These are, firstly, the desire to give praise to the Divine Being in all circumstances, for the chapter opens with the words "All praise is due to God". The Muslim has to come to prayer five times a day whatever the circumstances may be. There may be occasions when he is in distress, has suffered a reverse or a defeat, has a friend or near relative in distress, when someone very dear to him has just passed away and he is under the burden of a great bereavement, yet in all these conditions he is required to give praise to God Who brings about all these conditions, just as he would do had he received a blessing or some great benefit from God. The attitude of mind thus produced is to live in perfect peace with one's environment, neither to be carried away by joy, nor give way to dejection or depression. It is an attitude of mind which keeps a man steadfast in pleasure as well as pain, in joy as well as sorrow.

The second and third main ideas which determine a Muslim's mental attitude towards things are contained in the words *Rabb al-'Alamin*, the Nourisher unto perfection of all the worlds or all the nations. The Nourisher unto perfection brings him the comfort of knowing that whatever may happen to him, it is still for his perfection; whether he received a blessing or faces disaster, he must still be sure that he is being led on to perfection through these different stages. The addition of the words *al-'Alamin*, all words or all nations, opens up his mind and widens the sphere of his love and sympathy towards all men, to whatever nation or creed they may belong, nay even to the whole of God's creation, to the dumb animals as well as to man. The man who recognizes that God is the Nourisher unto perfection of all men cannot bear hatred towards them. He must recognize in fact that God is much more to all men than is a father to his sons.

The fourth main idea is carried in the words *Rahman* and *Rahim*. God is Loving and Beneficent; He has provided man with everything necessary for his development, physical as well as moral and spiritual; but still that development depends on the right use of outward things as well as of the inner faculties which are meant for this object. The choice is man's whether he takes advantage of those means and reaches the goal, or rejects or ignores them and suffers the evil consequences thereof.

The fifth and sixth great ideas contained in the *Fatiha* are those conveyed in the words *Málik* *yaumi-l-din* or Master of the Day of Requital. God is here called the *Málik* or the Master, and not *Malik* or King. The two words are almost alike, but there is this vast difference between a *Málik* and a *Malik* that the latter is bound to give to each what he deserves, but the former may if he likes forgive an offender altogether. There are some religions that lay so much stress on Divine justice that they refuse to recognize a God who can forgive offenders without having some compensation. Such a narrow view of Divine justice has a corresponding effect on the morals of a man. The

word *Málik* rejects this idea, and shows God to be a Master Who can forgive if He likes, however great the offence may be. The addition of the words *Yaumi-l-din*, the Day of Requital, is by way of reminder that man must face the consequences of his own deeds. There is no deed, good or bad, that is without a consequence, and if these consequences are not seen by man in this life, there is still a Day of Requital, even after death.

The seventh idea is contained in the words *Iyyaka na'budu*, the idea of rendering obedience to God with entire submission. This is meant to create in man the mentality of obedience to the Divine commandments, even when such are opposed to the commandments of some temporal authority or his own wishes. They do not only create this mentality but also give man the strength to carry out the commandments.

The eighth idea is contained in the words *iiyáka nasta'in* (Thee do we beseech for help). The mental attitude which it is sought to create by these words is that of entire dependence on God and never despairing of the attainment of an object, for even if outward means have failed, there is God, the Controller of all means, Whose help will not fail the man who depends on Him.

The ninth idea is contained in the words *Ihdi-ná*. This signifies the soul's inner desire — prayer being nothing but the expression of the soul's inmost desire — of being led on and on to the goal, such being, as has been already shown, the significance of *hidayah*. That the mentality of being content to live in perfect peace with one's environment is not a negation of action is shown by these words. The Muslim attitude towards the world is not one of inaction or listlessness; on the contrary, it comprises both the desire to remain in peace with his environment, and the desire to move on and on so as to reach the great goal. He gives praise to God at every step, yet this is not a stationary condition; he is not the slave of his environment but for ever struggling and striving to master it; he does not stand for peace without progress, nor yet for progress without peace, but for peace and progress combined.

The tenth idea ruling the Muslim mentality, as disclosed in the *Fatiha*, is the longing to walk in the footsteps of those who have received Divine blessings of any kind, temporal, moral or spiritual, and the desire to be able to avoid the errors of those who have been the objects of Divine displeasure or those who have gone astray. The latter are the followers of the two extremes, while those who have received the Divine favours are those who keep to the middle path — which is the straight path.

With these ten ideas ruling man's mind (and this is what is aimed at by the frequent repetition of the *Fatiha* as prayer), a man is armed with the best weapons both for happiness and success.

Does prayer lull initiative and effort?

It is sometimes said that prayer leads to idleness and indolence, because it causes a man to depend on his supplications for what he wants instead of working for it. This is, in fact, one of the chief arguments of the anti-religious movement. The objection is, of course, due to a complete misconception as to the nature of prayer. Prayer to God does not mean that a man has simply to entreat the Divine Being to grant him this or that favour and do nothing himself towards attaining it. Prayer is, in fact, a search for means and is thus an incentive to action. The *Fatiha* is the most important Muslim prayer, yet, as already shown, its central idea is one of action or being led on to action, for here the supplicator does not ask for certain favours but only to be

guided on the right path. The prayer is contained in the words *ihdi-na-l-sirát-al-mustaqim*, i.e., *guide us on the right path*, or, as shown with reference to the meaning of *hidaya*, *lead us on to the goal by keeping us on the right path*. Prayer is thus only the means of leading a man onwards and to discovering the path by walking thereon he may attain the goal. It is a search for means to attain to a goal, and a yearning to walk on a certain path. In face of this clear teaching, it is a mistake to suppose that prayer for any object negatives the adoption of human means to gain it. Elsewhere the acceptance of prayer is spoken of as rewarding a man for the hard work he had done: "So their Lord accepted their prayer, saying, I will not waste the work of a worker among you, whether male or female, the one of you being from the other" (3 : 194).

The rule has been laid down in the Qur'an in several places that no end can be gained without making a hard struggle for it: "Certainly We have created man to face difficulty" (90 : 4). "And that man shall have nothing but what he strives for; and that his striving shall soon be seen; then shall he be rewarded for it with the fullest reward" (53 : 39-41). "O my people! work in your place I am a worker" (39 : 39). The question may, however, be asked what is the need for prayer if man must work for an end and avail himself of the means to gain it? Here, again, is a misconception as to the capabilities of man. It often happens that, notwithstanding the hardest struggle, a man is unable to gain an end, and finds himself quite helpless. In such a case prayer is a help, a source of strength, to the worker. He does not lose heart nor does he despair, because he believes that, though the means at his disposal have failed, though all round there are difficulties and darkness, though his own strength is failing, yet there is a Higher Power with Whom nothing is impossible, Who can still bring a ray of light to dispel the darkness and Who remains a perpetual source of strength for him in his helplessness, and that by praying to Him he can still achieve what seems otherwise quite unattainable. That is the function of prayer, and it is thus one of the means to gain an end when all other means have failed, and a source of strength to man in moments of utter weakness and despair.

That such is the true function of prayer and that it is only a source of greater energy and greater strength to enable man to face difficulties and achieve an end, is shown by the early history of Islam. The Prophet Muhammad and his Companions were undoubtedly the greatest believers in prayer — they are spoken of in the Qur'an as spending two-thirds of the night, half the night or one-third of the night in prayer (73 : 20), and yet this was the very band of men whose love for work knew no bounds, whose energy was inexhaustible and who faced the most embarrassing difficulties with an iron determination. Surely the men who in ten years conquered two of the most powerful empires of the world, who with but the scantiest of resources, faced armies double and treble and, on occasions, ten times the size of their own, whatever other charges may be brought against them, cannot be said to have been idle and inefficient. And it is a fact of history that, whenever the great Muslim conquerors were faced with the most critical situations, they fell down in prostration before God, seeking strength from the Source of real strength. Prayer, in fact, transformed the neglected race of the Arabs into the most distinguished nation which history can show, turned an idle and inefficient people into the most zealous and untiring workers for the progress of humanity, in all phases of its advancement. Truly prayer is meant to awaken, and does awaken, the latent energies of the human soul.

The Qur'an on the Mirage and the Realities of Life

The Qur'an enables man to see through the mirage of life

By SAYYID AMIN AHMAD

There is nothing less uncertain than our life on this earth, which may come to an end any moment, and nothing more certain than death, which is bound to come one day or other. And yet there is something that lulls us into a sense of false security. We think of death as a far distant eventuality which is unlikely to happen and we cling to life as if our life on this earth would never come to an end. Such is the mirage of life and such are its deadening effects on our reasoning faculties.

Every day we see with our own eyes human beings — big and small, rich and poor, young and old — being mowed down by death, regardless of any considerations whatsoever. It does not require much thinking to convince us that the fate which has befallen others will befall us too. Wise men learn from the experience of others, whereas fools never learn until the tragedy overtakes them personally, and then it is too late to learn.

Islam enables man to see through the mirage of life. It is indeed a difficult task not to take any notice of a thousand and one temptations with which this world abounds and follow the straight path with attention fixed on God Almighty and the '*Akhirah*' (eternal life). But this is the test that Islam lays down for every true Muslim, and this is the criterion which distinguishes a believer from an unbeliever. Belief in God is not complete with *Iqraar bi'l-lisaan* (declaration of faith with the tongue). There must be '*Imaan bi'l-Qalb*' (conviction of the fact that Islam is true from the heart). Otherwise the declaration with the tongue is only a lip profession. As God Almighty says in the Qur'an, "And there are some people who say, 'We believe in God and the Day of Judgment,' and they are not believers at all. They want to deceive God and those who believe but they deceive only themselves and yet they know not" (2 : 8-9).

When the light of true faith is kindled in the heart of man, good deeds follow as a matter of course. With faith in God, Man seeks His pleasure in everything that he does, knowing that he will have to return to Him one day : "We are God's and to Him we shall return" (The Qur'an, 2 : 156). He looks upon this world as his temporary abode and not permanent home. The only purpose for which he has been sent here is to build his '*Akhirah*', and he spends his time in building his '*Akhirah*', which does not mean that he should renounce this world. He has to live in this world and serve God by serving His creatures. God Almighty is *al-Samad* (He does not depend on anyone). He needs nothing. So anyone wishing to serve God has to serve His creations to the best of his or her ability. To attain nearness to God we have to cultivate the Divine attributes. The Qur'an says : "We have been painted in the colour of God and whose colour is better than God's?" (9 : 138). Again we read in the Qur'an : "All praise be to God, the Nourisher of all the worlds, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful" (1 : 1-2). The Arabic word *Rabb* used in this verse for "Nourisher" signifies the fostering of a thing in such a manner as to make it attain one condition after another until it reaches the goal of completion. We must cultivate God's *Rabubiyyah* (the quality of being *Rabb*, the Nourisher) and make ourselves a *Rahmah* (blessing) for our fellow creatures if we want to be nearer to God.

Islam is a religion of faith and action

Islam is a religion of faith and action. The faithful are those who live righteously, and on numerous occasions God Almighty addresses them in the Qur'an as "Ye who believe in God and do good deeds", thus showing the interdependence of faith upon action and vice versa. To be faithful, one must live righteously in order to keep his or her faith alive, and to live righteously one must have true faith so that he or she may not be led astray. Faith or '*Imaan*' (the word the Qur'an uses) is a pointer which shows you the way, but it is only good deeds (to use the Qur'anic phrase '*amal salih*') which can take you to your goal.

The following verses from the Qur'an will elucidate this point further :

"Yea, whoever submits entirely to God and does good to others will have his reward from Him and (his reward will be that) he will have no fear and will know no sorrow" (2 : 112).

"Verily, those who do evil deeds deliberately and are surrounded on all sides by their sins shall be relegated to hell and abide there for ever and those that have faith in God and do good deeds shall be dwellers of Paradise and shall live there for good" (2 : 81-82).

"And those who believe in God and do good deeds, He will give them their rewards in full and God does not like the unjust (i.e., those who do not give to others what is their due)" (3 : 56).

The door of God's forgiveness is always open to those who truly repent

To those who have deviated from the right path, the door of God's forgiveness is always open. The only thing that God Almighty requires is true repentance, which must be accompanied by a change of the heart. As God Almighty Himself says : "And whoever does evil and acts unjustly to his soul and then asks forgiveness of God, shall find God Forgiving and Merciful" (4 : 110). And again, "And whoever repents after his iniquity and reforms himself, God will turn to him mercifully, for God is Forgiving, Merciful" (5 : 39). If your past life has not been good, you need not be despondent. You have only to break yourself completely asunder from your past and crave God's mercy and forgiveness. You must not allow your past to act as a clog on your present or your future. Let the past be past and strive for the present and the future.

To end, let me quote a few inspiring verses from the Qur'an :

"And repentance is not for those who go on doing evil deeds until when death comes to one of them, he says, 'Now I repent,' nor for those who die while they are unbelievers" (2 : 18).

"Our Lord, do not punish us if we forget or fall into error ; Our Lord, lay not on us a burden like that which Thou didst lay on those before us ; Our Lord, lay not on us a burden greater than we have strength to bear. Blot out our sins and grant us forgiveness. Have mercy on us. Thou art our protector. So help us against the unbelieving people" (2 : 286).

THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION OF ISLAM TO WORLD PEACE

The roles of Christianity and Islam
in the world of today

By Dr. S. A. KHULUSI



The writer

The idea of "peace" is inherent in the meaning of the very word "Islam"

Islam has, ever since its rise, been a pacifying factor in world politics. It was and still is the religion of peace. And if it ever used the sword, it was only as a last resort to protect world peace against hordes of barbarians.

The very name "Islam" speaks of its peaceful nature. "*Al-Muslimu*," says the Prophet Muhammad, "*man salima al-Nasu min yadihi wa lisanihi*" (A Muslim is he of whose tongue and hands people feel quite safe). This is only a repercussion of what the Qur'an states very clearly in the following verse:

"O you who believe! Enter into complete peace and follow not the footsteps of the devil. Surely he is your open enemy."

In this verse the Muslims are told that the truth cannot be had unless one worked for it wholeheartedly. The Arabic word *Silm* means peace as well as submission. In fact, complete submission to God is synonymous with complete peace. As Islam takes its name from complete submission to the will of God, one can easily understand how far Islam had gone in trying to establish peace in this world, and that its real aim is peace, and war is only a temporary digression.

The fallacious view prevailing among some people, however, is that Islam is not altogether a peace-loving religion. The reason for that being the fact that fighting was made incumbent on the "Believers". But for what purpose? Not for the sake of converting non-believers into Islam; but just for defensive purposes and also for establishing religious freedom for all sects and religions. This is testified by the following verses:

"And had there not been God's repelling some people by others, there would have been pulled down cloisters, and churches and synagogues and mosques in which God's name is much remembered" (The Qur'an, 22:40).

"And fight against them until there is no more persecution, and all religions should be for God" (8:39).

The Prophet Muhammad a peace-loving man

The Prophet himself was a peace-loving man. He only carried out as little fighting as was absolutely necessary to protect the new faith. At times he even sacrificed his followers' interests for the sake of preserving peace, as it happened in the Truce of al-Hudaybiyyah in which it was stipulated that any Meccan coming to Muhammad to embrace Islam should be sent back to his people, and that any Muslim apostatizing and going back to the polytheists should not be returned to Muhammad. Obviously this was a disadvantage to Islam. Yet Muhammad accepted this

term in order to establish peace between his community and the polytheist Meccans.

When was permission then given to wage war? Such a question is answered by the following verses:

"Permission to fight is given to those upon whom war is made because they are oppressed, and God is well able to assist them; those who have been expelled from their homes without a just cause except that they say: 'Our Lord is God!'" (The Qur'an, 22:39-40).

"And fight in the way of God against those who fight against you, and do not exceed the limits, for God loves not those who exceed the limits" (The Qur'an, 2:190).

"But if they desist, then God is Forgiving, Merciful. And fight against them until there is no more persecution" (The Qur'an, 2:192-193).

"And if they decline to peace, do thou incline to it, and trust in God; He is the Hearing, the Knowing. And if they intend to deceive thee, then surely God is sufficient for thee" (The Qur'an, 8:61-62).

"What! Will you not fight a people who broke their oaths and aimed at the expulsion of the Messenger, and they attacked you first?" (The Qur'an, 9:13).

"And they will not cease fighting against you until they turn you back from your religion, if they can" (The Qur'an, 2:217).

Why I say that Islam can solve the many problems of the world

Thus having proved by historical and textual evidence the peaceful nature of Islam, I pass on to say that in such turbulent circumstances in which we live it is this kind of religion that can solve the main problems of the world.

I am not wrong in suggesting that Islam is the golden mean between the two conflicting doctrines of East and West. Even in its geographical position it seems to occupy a middle position between the two.

The two aspects — religious and political — of Islam

There is no doubt that Islam has two aspects: religious and political. The religious one is now finished and complete. It is the political aspect which is full of possibilities and rife with all kinds of potentialities. One of the chief characteristics of political Islam is that it is capable of giving birth to diverse kinds of civilizations. It is still pregnant with more to come. The world today is experiencing a spiritual vacuum which cannot be filled save with a new civilization coming out of the womb of Islam. There is too much materialism in the present-day world. This has been growing ever since the days of the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, and only reached its apex at the nuclear age. Man has grown physically, but shrivelled spiritually.

It is the perfect balance between body and spirit that brings about happiness. But this balance is now unfortunately upset, and it can only be restored through the magic power produced by the impact of Islam on Western civilization. When I say Islam I mean it of course in its pure and revived form. When I say Islam I mean Islam, and not the corrupted Muslims in certain parts of the world. Islam today is being stirred up slowly but steadily. This might give birth to new spiritual movements, which will help to bring about universal brotherhood. Islam will not find difficulty in achieving this because it has at least one blessing and that is it is free of "original sin" complex and of all racial and colour prejudices. "*Inna akramakum 'inda Allahi atqakum*" (The most honoured amongst you is the most pious and God-fearing says the Qur'an (49 : 13).

Another aspect of Islam's universality that will help achieve world peace is the fact that it includes all previous religions and approves of their prophets as veritable. I may add here that Islam, true and real Islam, is capable of living side by side with other religions ; for Islam's chief watchword is tolerance.

Further, Islam is free of the chosen people idea. So it can act as a reconciliatory force amongst the different conflicting nations of the world.

The need of mankind today

As I see the world, it is on the brink of a great catastrophe, and we need a great spiritual force to overpower the great material force that is at the disposal of mankind today.

The impetus that can be given to Islam to embark on its great mission is a revival of the Muslim community in order to understand how to apply Islam in a more correct way. Therefore the first step to stimulate it is to raise the standard of its people to enable them to shoulder their great task of building up a new spiritual civilization to fill up the vacuum in the West, in particular, and the world as a whole. Historians like Toynbee today are conscious of the fact that the stream of history must follow a new flow, if humanity is to be saved. And nothing can change the flow of events to a better and safer channel than Islam. I really believe, as some contemporary historians do, between challenges and responses ending in the death of old social systems and the rise of new ones.

What actually is threatening Western civilization today is too much technology and too much secularization, both of which have created a new civilization that has embraced the whole world. What we need at this juncture is a strong Muslim impact on this technological civilization that is on the point of suicide. Luckily this type of civilization has brought all great religions together. Christianity has never in history been so closely linked with Islam as it is today. It has thrown itself in the embrace of Islam, because while Western civilization has become highly technological, Muslim civilization still retains many of its deep-rooted spiritual elements that cannot be easily effaced by materialist influences since the spiritual and practical life in Islam are knit together. You cannot separate the one from the other.

The Christians separated both long ago, to the detriment of Christianity itself.

Eastern civilization requires urgent spiritualization through the combined efforts of Islam and Christianity

Islam in my opinion is the only possible alternative to a political principle that has become almost a religious belief, because the point of identity is the combination of spirituality and worldliness. Christianity alone is not capable

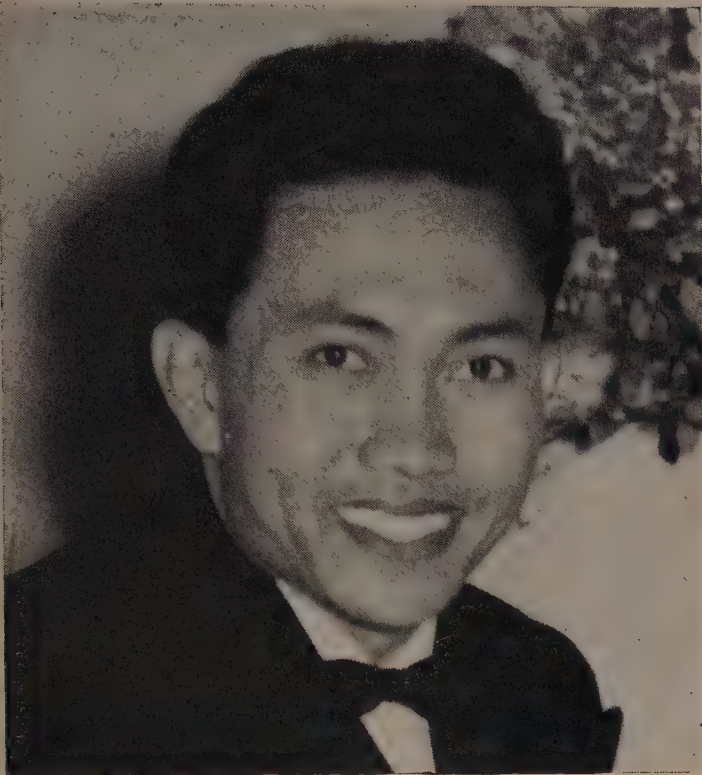
of that. I might add here that while Islam has produced a distinct civilization that flourished brilliantly in the Middle Ages, and is capable of producing further spiritual civilizations in the future after a thorough impact with Western science, Christianity has failed to produce any after the Middle Ages. And the so-called present-day Christian civilization is in actual fact not purely Christian. It began in the 15th century with the Italian Renaissance, which was none other than a heathen movement based on the revival of the Greek heathen civilization on one hand and the study of nature, both of which are not closely connected with Christianity, while Islam sprang from the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, and the whole Muslim civilization is linked up with religion and the spiritual aspects of life. This is why Christianity should ally itself with Islam against the modern European civilization, because, though this might sound paradoxical, Muslim civilization is much more akin to Christianity than the European materialistic, technological civilization. It is in Muslim civilization, revived, strengthened and renewed, that pure and real Christianity shall ultimately find its protection and salvation. And this is precisely the real contribution of Islam to world peace, and this is indeed the role that it is actually going to play. It is therefore in the interest of Christianity that the true Christians of today should do their best to bolster up and strengthen Islam as much as they can. It is not all unlikely that Christianity abandoning the present pagan civilization of Europe which is bearing the elements of its own destruction, will produce in alliance with Islam a new civilization that will outshine the present one and save humanity from an imminent catastrophe. The first step therefore is to create a *rapprochement* between the two great religions of the world and work for a new civilization by explaining to the world that the European civilization requires urgent spiritualization through the combined efforts of Islam and Christianity.

A suggestion to deal with the critical position of the world today

It is, to my mind, easier to begin with the creation of this new civilization in the Middle East than in Europe ; for Islam in the Middle East is in a better position than Christianity in Europe to deal with the critical position of the world. The reason is simple : in Europe the material development of life is much higher than it is in the East, so Christianity there is helpless. Whereas in the East, Islam does not find great difficulty to attain supremacy in the life of man. It is therefore easier, and perhaps more profitable in the long run, to try to begin with Islam in the Middle East than with Christianity in Europe, in order to create the new spiritual movement.

The danger of the spiritual crisis of the West today is spreading eastward, so it is about time that we strengthened a revived form of Islam to stop the further progress of the evil.

Islam has unfortunately discarded its old heritage in consequence of its accepting a non-religious secularized form of civilization. So to remedy this condition means to revive the ancient legacy of Islam, i.e., to have a beginning similar to the beginning of the European civilization, but on a spiritual basis. In other words, instead of having a revival of the un-Christian Greek culture, we shall have a revival of the medieval Muslim culture and start an "Islamic Renaissance" which, together with the remnants of Christian elements in Western heritage, will be of help to end the spiritual crisis wherever European civilization has set foot in this world.



SHOULD MUSLIM LAW BE SEPARATED FROM RELIGION ?

By 'ABD AL-TAIB BIN MAHMUD

◀ (Pictured here)

This bare outline is not intended to be an addition to the already numerous opinions expressed on the place of law in Islam. It is presented here as a provocation to those who have the ability and time to dwell at great length on the subject. It is a provocation because the writer feels that a recent suggestion made by a modernist to separate Law from Religion in Islam might invite several difficulties if not harms that usually attend on revolutionary measures.

Islamic problems are usually examined through Western glasses

As most of the exponents of the modernist's view are brought up in a Western environment and trained in the Western ways of thinking, it is not surprising to notice that criticisms of the integration of Law and religion in Islam are based on comparisons between what is thought to be the backward East and the materially advanced West. In a way this is a commendable attitude. But it is fraught with its own dangers. While admiring the progress of the West, one might easily be blind to the difficulties and problems which resulted from the dichotomy of Law and Religion.

It is true that Western States on emerging as such seem to have achieved a striking success when they invented the Secular Theory of the State, and thereby reduced the bitter consequences of religious fanaticism, the frequent Papal interferences, and the havoc of denominational persecutions. Spinoza's *Freedom of Thought* as the true object of every Government seemed to have been some solution to the problems which resulted from the religious intolerance of his time. But can we apply the same measure in Islam?

A positive answer to the question is hard to give here. But at least we can see that the situation which is professed to be remedied by the separation of Church from State is entirely different in the case of Europe from that which Islam is facing now. There might be other reasons why the dichotomy should be adopted in Islam. But let us for the moment stick to the examination of the place of religion in

Islam. Unlike any other religious system, Islam recognizes the diversity of men's mental attitudes and the freedom to believe or disbelieve. It is a corollary of this recognition that Islam enjoins a policy of tolerance towards other religions. In fact, throughout the history of Islam we find followers of other religions exempted from purely religious laws, such as matrimonial and devotional, and surrendered to the jurisdiction of their own courts.

The characteristic of Islam is, as Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith puts it, that it provided the integration of "elements from Arabia, from Hellenism, from the Semitic cultures of the ancient Near East, from Sassanid Iran, from India", and when our jurists formulated the detailed precepts of laws from the Qur'an and the Hadiths, they had the knowledge of the customs of several peoples and the heritage of at least two brilliant civilizations. It is as much a pity for us, if we were to submit to the temptation of "modernizing" our laws, we should eradicate all these vast treasures of experience, as for England to set aside all her precedents in Common Law, which centuries of judges have built up by trial and error. However, should a careful survey reveal that drastic alterations in our legal system are urgently needed, we must be realistic.

Concept of law

The Islamic legal concept closely knits laws with the will of the Divine Being; whereas the modern States prefer to detach any religious element from their legal philosophies. After the abandonment of St. Thomas's theory of Natural Law, States have been inventing theory after theory to define in secular terms what law is. Historical jurisprudence, sociological jurisprudence and analytical jurisprudence are among those propounded. Yet each is not satisfactorily successful in solving the fundamental problem of balancing the authority of the State with the freedom of the subject.

Modern critics tend to look at Islamic law through the glasses of Austinian jurisprudence. To them, the definition

of law as the will of the legislature is an indisputable verdict of philosophy. Yet, when Germany was defeated after the Second World War, and a number of high officials were charged at the Nuremberg trials with crimes against humanity, the defence that they were lawfully executing the will of the Nazi legislature could not be upheld. Thus Austin's theory of the absolute will of the legislature, which was re-echoed by Dicey in his *Constitutional Law Book*, proves to be far from a truly satisfactory definition of law. Radbruch,¹ in his *Theory of Relativism*, had to shift his emphasis from certainty and expedience to justice, after he had been shocked by Nazi statutes passed in oppression of the Jews.

The idea that there should be any limitation to the legislative power might understandably be offensive to lawyers brought up in the Austinian school. And most Muslim lawyers, who are trained in the West, are tempted to resent any limitation on the powers of the State by the Islamic doctrine of Divine source of law. This should not be the attitude of one who is keen to undertake the task of probing into the problems of Islamic jurisprudence impartially and with intention to be constructive. The presence of any limitations to legislative power is no novelty in the present day when a federation of small States is quite common. The practice of restricting, or laying down of conditions for the amendment of constitutions admits of the possibility of a limitation on legislative powers. Kelsen's² *Pure Science of Law* does recognize such a limitation when it requires a law to comply with a certain *Grundnorm* in order to be valid. Why can't the modern Muslim jurist accept God's fundamental command as a *Grundnorm* (basic norm)?

The problem of law becomes very acute when considered in the context of international relationships. The Absolute Power of State theory might pass tolerably within the narrow bounds of the State, but when the legal position of the State is considered in the bigger scope of the international world, a wider concept of law has to be accepted. The sanction of force is not safe, even if it is allowed in international law. Positivist theories often lend themselves to the abuse of nationalistic and economic interests. *Pacta sunt servanda* (the legal maxim that "all agreements must be kept") applies in international law even in the case of duress, where a stronger nation exploits a weaker one. To peace-loving countries and small States such bases of international relations are not satisfactory. Repentant Japan, for instance, adopts in her post-war constitution the concept of "political morality" as the ground on which her international relationship is to be based. But like all the other concepts this is very vague. Yet, on the slow emergence of Asian and African countries as independent States, the Muslim world needs to find a greater unity. The only common bond which binds these countries, now as before, is Islam. And if Islam is going to be reduced from a civilizing and cultural system to the private faith of loose individuals, while its laws are going to be replaced by the secular laws imported from other countries, where can we find unity in the Islamic world?

Islam as an organized system

There are tendencies shown by extreme modernists to equate Islam with a mere internal belief, as if Islam is the same doctrine as that of St. Paul with its strong emphasis on belief at the expense of belittling the importance of practice. But Islam is a system — a system that regulates life as an undivided whole. Islam speaks to the conscience as well as directs the external conduct. Any departure from

either the belief or the practice amounts to hypocrisy. Islam lays down the laws determining the relationship of man with his Creator, and these laws are matters for the conscience to observe. But Islam also prescribes moral codes of life, which purport to harmonize the relationship between man and man. Therefore, while it allows, as a matter of personal conviction, the free choice to believe or to disbelieve, it cannot, without contradicting its purpose, give the freedom to corrupt or destroy the very system it is meant to establish. The laws which purport to govern the relationship between human beings seek not only to preserve the physical safety of men, but also to protect the spiritual well-being of mankind. It is the basic difference of Islam from all other religions that it looks upon human beings as coming into the world pure and innocent, and that the evils which might corrupt man's nature are external forces. Having as its fundamental aim the establishment of a good and peaceful humanity on earth, Islam undertakes to combat the force of immorality. For this reason the Qur'an goes to the root of the matter by condemning bad examples (16 : 25).

It is needless to say here that the non-sectarian morality that Islam attempts to establish is acceptable and beneficial, as early Islamic history, e.g., in Spain and Sicily, has well shown, even to non-Muslims. If such be the case, need we pull down this system now, just because it does not conform to others that we have reasons to admire?

Islam should be dynamic

Secularization of States seems to be very attractive to those who compare the tremendous material and economic progress achieved by the Western States as opposed to the Islamic countries. It may even be tempting to presume from the observations by such a comparison that Muslim countries suffer a decline because of Islam. Thanks to Iqbal for pointing out that the cause of our backwardness lies not in Islam but "in the way we are being Muslims". Modernists rightly infer from their survey of the situation in the Islamic world that we need to study the progress of the West. If we are impartial it is not hard for us to agree with them that Islam has been static for the past 200 years and that it is the duty of every Muslim scholar to make Islam once again dynamic. But the question is, how should the growth of Islam be directed?

Learning from the experience of Europe

It is a counsel of practical prudence that we should never shut our eyes to the experiences of others which might lend light to our own problems. The development of Europe from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance to the present day is worth the effort to study analytically and in great detail. Muslim modernists might give a contribution in this respect. The ideals and philosophies that brought about the change from one phase to another should be examined with great care. Europe has indeed benefited (whether she admits it or not) from examples of the Arabic scholars during the golden days of the Muslim Empire. The rationalistic approach, especially in the fields of science, was a momentous heritage of Islamic scholarship for Europe. This rationalistic approach to problems accelerated the development both in philosophy and science in Europe so rapidly that the centre of learning soon shifted from the East to the West. We should by right thank Europe for the role she plays in enriching the civilization of the world, and should wholeheartedly give the

1 Radbruch is a German legal philosopher of our modern time.

2 Another eminent legal philosopher who belonged to the Viennese school.

deserved admiration to her for her scientific achievements. But at the same time let not our admiration blind us to the unwarranted results which have accrued from the secular means by which she attains such achievements.

It is true that Europe has made great strides in her scientific progress and her economic development alike. But let us not confuse material progress with spiritual advancement. Europe jumped forward into the foreground of world history in a very short time after her Renaissance, but, in doing so, she left her Church in the background. Secularism gained for Europe immense material progress, but she now pays for this one-sided progress the high price of losing her unity and peace. The line between secularism and materialism is growing thin. Economic considerations dominate, if not monopolize, political issues. Law has several times been used as an instrument of the economically strong class and nation. Rousseau's absolute freedom to contract was once taken as an infallible policy of the law, but soon the bitter experience of the *laissez-faire* times swung back a State's policy from extreme individualism to our modern State-controlled economic and social collectivism.

The unbalanced development of European history brings with it the problems of a materialistic, as a result of a secular, approach to life. The old generations who thought in terms of "this is honourable" and "that is not" are slowly being replaced by those who are guided by the maxim "avoid only what is not legal". In the place of the parents, the priests, and the teachers of old stand the sociologists, the psychologists and the criminologists to work out the ever-increasing problems of society. The old social sanctions almost die of neglect, while the little voice of conscience which used to whisper a self-imposed restraint to individuals is drowned in the bustle of modern economic and hedonistic pursuits. As a result of the waning away of the responsible love of the parents, on the one hand, and the respectful devotion of the children, on the other, the moral standard of the young suffers a deterioration, while the aged are slowly ousted from a happy society to the lonely old-folk's homes. The prevalence of organized crimes and juvenile delinquency worries social-conscious minds constantly.

To a great many, the Church becomes a symbol of superstition and an object of scorn, while a few self-styled "modern intellectuals" regard morality as an out-dated and meaningless restriction. The problems are very serious. But, wedded as it is to the democratic pledge of giving the maximum freedom, what can the modern State do to solve them?

The position of the Islamic world

As it is now, the Islamic world has not yet sunk so deep in such a dilemma. Professor Gibb said in 1931 in his *Whither Islam?* :

"Islam still maintains the balance between exaggerated opposites. Opposed equally to the anarchy of European nationalism and the regimentation of Russian Communism, it has not yet succumbed to that obsession with that economic side of life, which is characteristic of present-day Europe and present-day Russia alike."

This observation still applies to the present situation generally.

Nevertheless, the Islamic world is far from being in a happy position. It has not entirely freed itself from the shackles which have impeded its progress since the days of feudalistic imperialism. It is still economically and scientifically lagging behind. The impact of the West since the days of colonial domination demands serious steps for adjustment. Its legal machinery is still rusty from neglect since the time of its decline, and now needs a thorough lubrication with fresh contributions from the most constructive legal minds. However, not all the legal principles which in other systems might rank as civil laws are archaic. For example, the Muslim restriction on the power to dispose property by will is not to be looked upon merely as a curtailment of the freedom to deal with property. The principle underlying the law which imposes this restriction aims at the protection of widows and orphans. In fact, this principle is realized (unconsciously, perhaps) in New Zealand's Testators' Family Maintenance Act. Australia passed a similar legislation a year after New Zealand.

Reconstruction of the Islamic world

It is undeniable that the Muslim world now faces the problems of countries that go under a transition in a vigorously changing world. It does not need much persuasion for Muslims to agree with the modernists that Islam needs a "reconstruction". But what does this "reconstruction" amount to? Should Muslims abandon the whole of their present system which they inherit from their great past, and follow in the footsteps of the West so that they can speed up their material progress, and then be prepared to face the same problems as Europe and America are now facing? Or should they sacrifice their impatient dreams to move abreast with the more advanced nations of the world, in order to preserve their legacy from Islam, and evolve from this legacy a system truly Islamic in all respects and tempered slowly with the demands of time? Or should they take the middle course of preserving a certain part of their legacy which they can retain without much difficulty, and engraft on this the borrowings from other civilizations?

On these questions depends the answer to their enquiry : Should Muslim Law be separated from Religion ?

For all books published in Great Britain

***on ISLAM, CHRISTIANITY, COMPARATIVE RELIGION, HISTORY,
PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE, etc.***

and for all books which are reviewed in this journal...PLEASE APPLY TO

The Manager, The Islamic Review, Woking, Surrey, England

Please give the name of the book, its author and publisher, in full.

PAKISTAN'S TRADITIONAL HANDICRAFTS

Paper-thin Bahawalpur pottery

Pakistan can easily claim to be the oldest producer of textiles

By Major-General S. SHAHID HAMID

Pakistani handicrafts, unlike other handicrafts, not only carry the aroma of their native place, but also deep impresses of the thousands of years-old civilizations that produced them.

The history of the Pakistani handicrafts has yet to be traced back to the Sohan and the pre-Sohan era; and how the shape and form of things have changed through the passage of time is yet to be ascertained.

In the light of information made available so far, many a Pakistani handicraft, however, can be traced back right up to the Kot Diji period (5000 B.C.); and Kot Diji is, admittedly one of the oldest, if not the oldest, civilization of the world.

Diversity has been added to Pakistan's rich heritage by the impact and influences of the successive civilizations at the peak of their glory — the Chinese, Mesopotamian, Iranian, Turanian, Greek, Arab, Turkish and, more recently, the European.



Wood and inlay work

Another unusual thing about Pakistani handicrafts is that while some of them retain their age-old forms and designs, the others show a happy blending of the old and the new, with distinct impresses of the different stages of evolution, through which they had to pass.

The purity of form and design of the light, thin, Kot Diji pottery, with painted peacocks or stylized fish-scale pattern, can still be discerned in the potteries of the Indus Valley.

The extra-light, paper-thin Bahawalpur pottery is clearly reminiscent of the light, thin, Kot Diji pottery. So also the paper-pottery of Multan.

The paper-thin Bahawalpur pottery

The light and thin Multan and Bahawalpur potteries are different in shape and form from the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa potteries (3000 B.C.); but the complexity of their designs make them resemble the latter more than simple-in-design Kot Diji pottery.

The Multan and Bahawalpur potteries also show distinctly the deep impresses of the impacts of different civilizations, which led to the evolution of their present form and designs.

The carvings and geometrical designs on Bahawalpur pottery clearly show the Greek and the Islamic influences; and the dome-like curved forms are reminiscent of the glory of the Moghuls.

It may be pointed out here that it needs special clay to produce paper-thin Bahawalpur pottery, which is only found in Bahawalpur. The paper pottery of Multan is the nearest approximation to Bahawalpur pottery, but cannot be as thin or as light.

The thick and heavy Hala pottery

The thick and heavy Hala pottery, in shape and form, is a direct descendant of the pottery of close-by Mohenjo-daro. The traditional colours show Chinese and Central Asian influences. The Chinese influence is believed to have travelled down the traditional routes, and brought to Hala by the Central Asian invaders. The designs and *motifs* on Hala pottery are essentially Islamic—geometrical or floral patterns or calligraphy.

Some of the best specimens of original purity of forms and designs are seen in the folk toys; so much so, that some of the folk toys and dolls look the exact replicas of toys and dolls found in the ruins of Mohenjo-daro.

The clay toys and bronze figurines

The clay toys and bronze figurines of the Indus Valley of today are little different from the toys and figurines produced in the valley 5,000 years ago. The clay models of the monkeys, rams, bulls and bullock carts, and the clay and bronze figurines of gods, goddesses, priests and the dancing girls, have been produced by generation after generation without even minor changes in details.

After the advent of Islam, the clay and bronze gods and goddesses ceased to be deities; and became toys for children to play with. That was why the figurines continued in production, despite the taboo on modelling and sculpturing human figures.

In the cloth-age, rag-dolls with fineries became more popular than clay figurines; but clay modelling continued in vogue.



Silverware made by Pakistani craftsmen

The distinctive feature of Pakistan-made clay and bronze figurines has always been fine modelling of the bust, hair and ornaments even before Harappa and Mohenjo-daro days. The lack of cloth is reminiscent of the ancient origin, of clay modelling, which dates back to an age preceding the cloth-age. The perfection in details is still the hall-mark of Pakistani dolls and toys.

The jewellers and goldsmiths of Pakistan

The jewellers and goldsmiths of Pakistan also have inherited an unbroken tradition, more than 5,000 years old. The bare torsos of the women of Mohenjo-daro were adorned with silver and gold necklaces and other jewellery.

Crude silver ornaments of the Indus Valley are still the same as they were in the good old days of Mohenjo-daro; and even the modern woman would not scoff at the silver and gold jewellery of Taxila and Gandhara.

The art of the goldsmiths and jewellers received a fresh impetus during the days of the Moghuls; and resulted in the creation of exquisite jewellery and ornaments, rare in design and finish.

The basic form of most of Pakistan's jewellery items has undergone little change since time immemorial. The chains, the beads, the pendants, the loops and the clasps, all the basic forms were found in Taxila, Gandhara, Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and even Kot Diji.

New shapes, designs, patterns and *motifs* were added as time passed; but only a few changes were introduced in the basic forms.

Filigree

Filigree is one of the most important among the new forms evolved by the goldsmiths of Pakistan. Extra-fine silver and gold wire — finer than human hair at times — went to make Mandila filigree, in the days of the Moghul Empress of India, Nur Jehan (d. 1645 C.E.).

Metalcraft of Pakistan also has an equally long tradition; and the shape of silver jugs and goblets of Taxila are much too familiar to be considered archaic.

In handicrafts and folkcrafts, the civilizations that followed have left deep impress, mostly in so far as pattern and design are concerned. The geometrical-floral patterns of the Islamic period are dominant.

Textiles

In textiles Pakistan can safely claim to have one of the oldest traditions, if not the oldest. "Baftah" cloth was made from flax fibres in the Indus Valley in the prehistoric period. Sind "Baftah" was found in the tombs of the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt.

The Indus Valley is the natural home of cotton, and Pakistan can easily claim to be the oldest producer of cotton textiles.

Sculpture and terracotta from Mohenjo-daro clearly shows that at least two pieces of clothing, the girdle and



Hand-made embroidered shoes

the shawl, made of cotton fabrics, were in vogue 5,000 years ago.

Small pieces of excavated fabrics, miraculously preserved, show that yarns as fine as 34 counts were spun in the Mohenjo-daro period.

Cloth-making, however, was developed into a fine art in East Pakistan, and fabrics finer than Dacca muslin are difficult to produce even today. "King's own" muslin, produced in Dacca, was as transparent as a fabric can be, and had a rare gloss and finish.

PEN PALS

- Mr. Pang-tsei Ting, 70-1 Kemping Street, Keeling, Taiwan, Republic of China, wishes correspondence. Desirous of learning Arabic.
- Mr. S. L. M. Razick, Zahira College, Boys' Hostel, Gampola, Ceylon, age 17 years, wishes to have pen friends. Hobbies: Islamic books and novels reading, stamps and view cards collecting, photography.
- Mr. S. L. Mohamed Razick, 85 Dunuwila Road, Akurana (C.P.) Ceylon, age 18 years, Muslim student, wishes to have pen friends. Hobbies: stamp collecting, badminton playing, photography.

The Three Promises of the Qur'an by S. M. AHMED

We quote the Qur'an :

"When God said, O Jesus! I shall cause thee to die, and raise thee towards Me, and purify thee from those who have *disbelieved* (either denied or deified thee) until the Day of Judgment, then to Me shall be your return, and I shall decide between you concerning that in which you have differed" (3 : 50).

"God promises those who believe and do good among you, that He shall make them rulers on earth, as He made rulers those who were before them, and shall establish for them their religion which He has chosen for them, and that He will certainly after their fear give them peace in exchange, so that they will worship Me and whoever is ungrateful after this these it be who are transgressors" (24 : 55).

"They desire to put out the lights of God with their mouths, but God shall not have it but that He should perfect His light, averse though the unbelievers be. He it is who sent His Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, to make it prevail over every religion, averse though the idolatrous may be" (9 : 31-32).

Muslims are the real followers of Jesus

Before we comment on these three verses with the background of past history and present and future trends of world politics, we must explain the words "followers of Jesus" appearing in the first quoted verse. Although the Qur'an has expressly and definitely called them who take Jesus and his mother as two gods besides God "pagans", it may not suffice for Christians to accept this verdict, so I would bring to our aid the two verdicts of the prophets of Israel on this point quoted in my article, "The Three Visions",¹ whose supplement is this article. Daniel might be personal about Constantine and the "paganism" which he enforced might be a passing phase, it may be argued, but as long as Jesus and his mother (which was substituted in the Trinity by the *Holy Ghost*, a term used in the Qur'an for the Angel Gabriel when monastic life and hatred and contempt for the female sex ruled the Christian mind) are taken as two gods cosubstantial with the Creator and the Almighty, the Christians are no better than the pagans in spite of all the reformation of Luther, Calvin and Zwingli. Socinians might claim themselves as Muslims, but they deny Jesus too by ignoring or misinterpreting his prophecy about the paraclete and the Kingdom of God. Muslims therefore can rightly be called the followers of Jesus, and this is what the Jewish prophet saw in his vision, when 'Umar spoke *peace to the "heathen" patriarch Sophronius*, who invited him to accept the surrender of Jerusalem and guided him to all the places of the sacred precincts of Masjid al-Aqsa, which God or Jehovah had blessed.

The second of these promises requires no comment, as the history of the Saracens is an ample commentary on it. It is the first and third which need our remarks.

What is the significance of the promise in the first verse that the deniers of Jesus shall always, until the Day of Judgment, remain under the rule and command of his followers or believers? The past and present has only partly fulfilled this promise. The Arabs and Ottomans did rule the Christians and Jews, but partly and temporarily, and the people of Europe and America who call themselves Christians have turned the tables on the Muslims for the last five hundred years, and they fittingly rule and command the world. One

cannot deny this fact of history. What is more, they not only ruled the Muslims, but murdered and plundered them in Spain, and the very murderers were gifted by God with the whole continent of America! And today, it is the one part of America which dominates the world, and Arabs dare not disturb the unlawful gain of Israel. The political power of Islam, which is biblically called the Kingdom of Heaven, might rise again, and indeed it has made a start in our time, but it would be rather wishful to think that any Muslim nation will subdue Europe, America and Japan in the near future.

But I look at this promise from a different angle, which I will explain partly in the third promise, but it must be borne in mind that the whole conception of a nation ruling another nation has drastically been changed in this age of democracy. A nation might not rule over another nation, but what about one political and religious ideology ruling over the other ideologies of another nation. This is the rule of democracies and we must look to the explanation of this verse in the third verse quoted above. So before we consider the third promise, we must here explain the religious ideology of Islam.

The ultimate triumph of the ideology of Islam

What is Islam? It is nothing but complete submission to the will of the Almighty Creator. And God is necessary in the ideology of man though incomprehensible. Human mind is prone to superstitious fear of evil spirits. This was the first god of man, vague and multiple, but humanity has always been taught by a genus of men (whom we called prophets), who explained to their hearers the nature of God and soul. Their teachings have been echoed and re-echoed and that is the reason that man not only has a belief in the existence of God but also in the immortality of the soul, the acts approved and disapproved of by God, who has power to punish the evildoers and reward the good, the eternal doctrine of heaven and hell and the resurrection. In all the religious books of the world this has been explained to the people, not exactly in the Islamic way but nearly in the same manner.

Let us now see if God's religion as in promise number 3 will prevail over all religions *ultimately* (italics are mine), and I am sure it will be. Just see the parable of Jesus about the *Kingdom of Heaven*, a little yeast or Islam is thrown in the flour and it ferments the whole flour. Let us look at historical facts now. Abyssinia was once wholly Christian, and the Christians there now total only one third; the whole island of Socotra, which Marco Polo saw to be wholly Christian, is now wholly Muslim. There were few families of Muslims in China and a very large number of Christians (according to Marco Polo). They now number nearly one-twelfth of the whole population of China. There were few Tartars left in Russia by the Czar, who forced nearly all of them to Christianity: now they form 25 per cent of the population of Russia. The same is the case with Africa, India and Indonesia, also Indo-China. Muslims numbered only 300,000 in Burma in 1921, now there are 2,000,000, and have a Muslim minister in the Burmese cabinet. So small wonder if the whole world came under the sway of the ideology of Islam in the near future, at least in personal faith, which is easy and natural. No nation can deny God in its heart; it may be out of policy or prejudice, but once God's unity is established Islam follows in its wake. 1 *The Islamic Review* for December 1959.

CALLIGRAPHY UNDER THE MUGHALS

A brief description of some exquisite creations of the master calligraphists of the Mughal times

By K. M. YUSUF

The Arabic script is remarkably well suited to artistic use

Calligraphy is the art of writing beautifully. The charm of a calligraphic writing is contained in the structure of strokes and curves which aim at producing a graceful movement instinct with universal appeal. This art seems to have come into prominence almost with the advent of Islam. The prohibition of painting human figures in Islam diverted the artistic genius of Muslims to calligraphy. Beautiful writing was seriously practised by the Muslims almost as they began to put to writing the Qur'án. They greatly employed their penmanship in copying the holy text — an act which was deemed extremely meritorious. In any study of Islamic calligraphy, whether in India or elsewhere, we must turn to Arabia and Persia for its origin and development. It was practised in its early stages by the Arabs, but it reached its zenith of perfection at the hands of the Persians.

The Arabic script is remarkable for its adaptability to artistic use because it supplies vertical and oblique strokes and lines inclinable to any degree of angle. The Arabic characters themselves provide an inspiration for decorative designs. The man who attained distinction as the founder of Arabic calligraphy was al-Rayhani, who flourished under the Caliph 'Abdullah al-Ma'mun (813-833 C.E.), and his style is known as *Khatt Rayhani*. Among the ornamental designs that Europe borrowed from the Muslims, calligraphic decoration was a conspicuous one. The charm of Arabic script was so great that Offa (757-796 C.E.), the Christian King of Mercia, England, stamped one of his gold coins with the Muslim religious formula in Kufic (now in the British Museum). This coin has no successor similar in type, but it records how widely the sound currency then being issued from Muslim mints was circulating. Islamic calligraphy owes its development more to the impetus it received from the Manichaeans (*Zindiqs*) than to any other source. The living example of Arab penmanship in architectural decorative art is seen in the palaces of the Alhambra in Spain. Even in ruins there is nothing in the whole world to be compared with them. "Its value for the history of art is incalculable. . . . Alhambra is unique," remarks Strzygowsky in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Vol. I). Thus, writing as a decorative art was developed, perfected and refined by the Muslims at a very early stage.

The major calligraphic styles

The major calligraphic styles are Kufic, Naskh (Maghribi and Andalusi) and Nasta'liq. For five hundred years the Kufic was in use and the Qur'án was exclusively written in the various forms of this style. According to Dimand, *A History of Muslim Decorative Art*, the copy of the Qur'án in Kufic dated 168 A.H. (184-5 C.E.) is the earliest known one. A specimen of the early Kufic on stone dated 437 A.H. (1035 C.E.) is in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The Naskh holds a mediate position between the Kufic and Nasta'liq. The Nasta'liq, the last and the simplest of styles, was invented, developed and perfected by the

Persians. No other style has succeeded it, nor is it ever likely to. Ziauddin mentions that the earliest inscriptions in the Nasta'liq is a "Persian Deed for Sale of Land" dated 401 A.H. (1010-11 C.E.), which was discovered by Dr. Hoernle and published by D. S. Margoliouth. Besides this, there are various minor styles, such as Thulth, Ruqqa'a, Zulf-i-urus, Raihan, Manshur, Muhaqqiq, Bahar, Hilali, Tauqi, Ghubar, etc. Gulzar, Mahi, Taus, Larza and Tughra are some of the ornamental treatments of Islamic calligraphy and of styles in themselves. The *Shikasta* or broken style is a further simplification of the Nasta'liq. As far as reading is concerned, this is the most inconvenient style.

The art of calligraphy under the Muslim rule

As in other Muslim countries, the art of calligraphy flourished in India from the earliest period of the Muslim conquest. The Quwwat al-Islam Mosque at Delhi, the Qutb Minar at Delhi, the tombs of the Sultan Ghouri (built by Shamsuddin over the remains of his son Nasiruddin Muhammad in 1231 C.E.) and the Sultan Shamsuddin Iltamish (1210-1235 C.E.), bear highly ornamental Qur'anic inscriptions on stones written in Kufic. The Kufic inscription of historical interest is to be found on the west wall of Arha'i-Din-ka-Jhonpra at Ajmer.

The Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (1246-1265 C.E.) was himself a skilled calligrapher and used to copy the Qur'án. The coins issued by the Sultan Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq (1324-1351 C.E.) are exceptionally brilliant examples of the calligraphic art. It is interesting to mention here that Yaqut Musta'simi, the greatest of Naskh writers, who was famous as the "Prince of Calligraphers" and wrote under the patronage of the last Abbaside Caliph, Abu Ahmad 'Abdullah al-Mustasim Billah (1242-1258 C.E.), once copied the *Kitab al-Shifa* of Ibn Sina (980-1037 C.E.), popularly known as Avicenna, and sent the same to Muhammad Ibn Tughluq. The Sultan greatly appreciated the work and in return sent him a gift of two hundred million *mithqals* of gold, but the artist refused the gift, considering it beneath his dignity to accept such a meagre amount. Some specimens of Yaqut's calligraphy, with his autograph, are preserved in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, India.

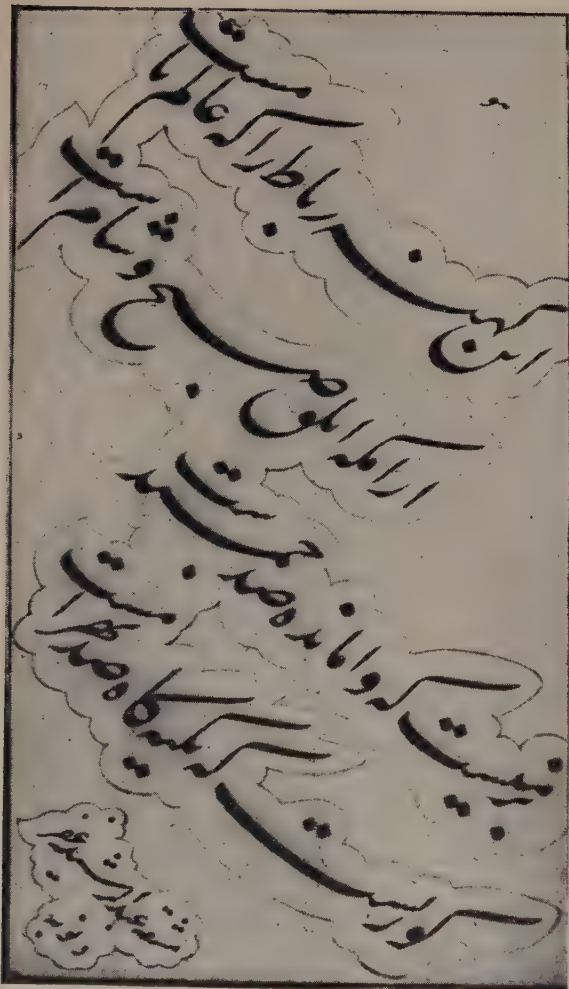
The Mughal emperors of India as calligraphers

Calligraphy as an art did not, however, attain its highest development till the advent of the Mughals. The Mughal emperors were men of highly refined culture, and like painting they extended court patronage to calligraphic art also. This encouraged many Persian calligraphers to migrate into India. Calligraphers, in general, were held in high esteem, and they were respected by all, by the emperors and the people alike. Generations of expert calligraphers worked with such success and approval that not only was a fine book a priceless treasure, but the merest scrap of a great master's writing a collector's prize. The Mughals were so



SOME SPECIMENS STYLES OF AND ARABIC

No other script, other than the Iranian
and Naskh styles, lends itself



ON PAPER

(Above) Two composite pages showing the various
the Shikasta style, which is most difficult to read
Muhammad Rasul A

The styles of calligraphy shown are : Kufic, Naskh
Bahaar,

This MS. is preserved in the Salar Jung Museum

ON METAL COINS

Top left : The Iranian and Urdu style called Nasta'liq, invented
by an Irani named Mir 'Ali Tabrizi.

The coins in our picture belong to the Mughal Period of the
Mughal Emperors of India (Jehangir Shahjahan, Aurangzeb
and Shah Shujaa').

ON PAPER

Bottom left : Persian and Urdu style called Nasta'liq.
(Reproduced from Ziauddin's Monograph of Moslem
Calligraphy.)

OF THE MAJOR ANIAN-URDU ALLIGRAPHY

u and Arabic scripts in their Nasta'liq
mentation so easily and so well



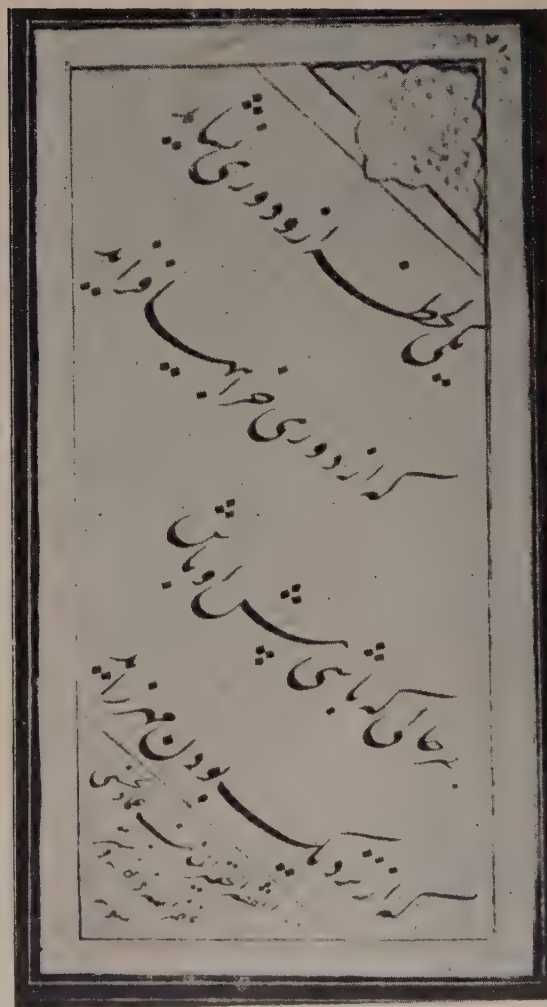
calligraphy. Some sentences are written out in
hand page the Arabic sentence La ilaha illa 'l-Lah
ted in the Kufic style.
Ruqqa'a, Thulth, Gulzaar, Ghubaar, Shikasta,
Tughraa.
, India.

IN STONE

Top right: The Muslims of Iran, Turkey, India and Pakistan have excelled each other in inscribing Arabic words and verses of the Qur'an in stone. The Muslim world abounds in buildings with façades and interiors where the exquisite decoration has been carried out in the various styles of calligraphy. The one in our picture appears around the Mihrab (niche) of the world-famous Lutfullah Mosque at Isfahan, Iran.

ON PAPER

Bottom right: A beautiful specimen of Irani and Urdu calligraphy.



fond of this art that the training of princes and princesses in calligraphy became an important feature of royal education. The slaves of the emperors were also no less expert in the art of penmanship.

Babar and Humayun

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar (1526-1530 C.E.) is said to have invented a new style known as *Khatt-i-Babari*. He transcribed a copy of the Qur'an in this style for presentation to Mecca. According to Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, the Rampur copy of Babar's *Diwan* is in the *Khatt-i-Babari*.

The Mughul Emperor Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun (1530-1556 C.E.) was also a good calligraphist. On one occasion he was reprimanded by his father, Babar, for writing his letter carelessly. During his exile in Iran, Humayun made the acquaintance of many scholars and artists and extended invitations to them to visit India when he succeeded in re-establishing his kingdom there. Khwaja Muhammad Mu'min, the master of the Naskh and Thulth styles, who was attached to Shah Tahmasp's court (1524-1576 C.E.), migrated to India and enrolled himself in the service of Humayun. In the latter part of his reign Humayun gathered several calligraphers of note in his court. The Maulana Shamsuddin Kashani and Mir Qasim were prominent Persian calligraphists of his court. Husain Ahmad, a slave who is credited with having written the inscriptions on the *Khankah* at Shaykh Sara'i, Delhi, was also in the employ of the Emperor.

Calligraphers during Akbar's reign

With the accession of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar (1556-1605 C.E.), a new chapter in fine arts was opened and direct court patronage was extended to calligraphy. Abu 'l-Fazl says, "His Majesty shows much regard to the art and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing, hence the large number of skilful calligraphers". The *A'in-i-Akbari* mentions eight modes of calligraphy being in vogue in Akbar's time. The Emperor was fond of curved strokes and liked Thulth, Tauqi, Muhaqqiq, Naskh, Raihan, Riq'a and Ghubar. In the works of Abu 'l-Fazl, Badayuni and Nizamuddin some details of the lives and styles of the prominent calligraphers of Akbar's court are given. The most renowned pen-man of Akbar's reign was Muhammad Husain Kashmiri, on whom the Emperor conferred the title of *Zarrean Qalam* (The Golden Pen). According to Abu 'l-Fazl, he even surpassed the renowned calligrapher the Mulla Mir 'Ali of Herat in penmanship. Besides him, the Maulana Baqir, Muhammad Amin Mashhadi, 'Abd al-Hayy, the Maulana Dawri, the Nawab Ashraf Khan, Khwaja 'Abd al-Samad and the Maulana 'Ali Ahmad Nishani were prominent among a host of calligraphers. Abu 'l-Fazl, Faizi, 'Urfi and Badayuni were also well-versed in the art.

The Maulana 'Ali Ahmad Nishani was so famous a seal cutter that his engravings on stones fetched a high price in Khurasan, Iraq and Central Asia. 'Abd al-Samad was appointed the master of the Imperial mint by Akbar. Ashraf Khan was master of seven styles. The Emperor conferred on Mir Dawri the title of *Katib al-Mulk*. He was expert in the Nasta'liq style. 'Abd al-Hayy held a *mansab* of 500. 'Inayatullah Shirazi, the librarian of the Imperial library, was another renowned calligraphist.

The art of penmanship grew as a result of the patronage offered to Persian literature. The works of the best authors were written down with much elegance and elabora-

tion. The poetical works of Firdousi, Jami, Faizi, etc., were beautifully copied. Similarly, historical works and fables like the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *Daastaan-i-Amir Hamza*, *Zafar-nameh*, etc., were copied and illustrated at Akbar's order. This process led to a widespread taste among the people for beautiful handwriting, which soon came to be regarded as a "fine art".

The specimen of Akbaride calligraphy exists in the finely engraved inscriptions on the coins of his reign. The calligraphic inscriptions in the marble cenotaph of Akbar on the uppermost storey of his mausoleum at Sikandara, India, surrounded by beautiful ornamentations, are remarkable. Another example of architectural calligraphic decoration is the *Mihrab* of the Jami' Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri. The architrave is painted deep blue, sculptured with verses from the Qur'an in the Naskh style, overlaid in gold.

Jahangir's love of nature and beauty

The Emperor Jahangir (1605-1627 C.E.), a lover of nature and beauty, was an enthusiastic art patron and connoisseur. Painting received a fresh impetus in his reign but he patronized the sister art of calligraphy as well. He was a great admirer of the celebrated Mulla Mir 'Ali. Mir 'Ali was so conscious of his talents that he once proudly referred to the superiority of his art in one of his poems thus: "My pen works miracles, and rightly enough is the form of my words proud of its superiority over its meaning. To each of the curves of my letters the heavenly vault confesses its bondage in slavery, and the value of each of my strokes is eternity itself." A beautiful specimen of Mir 'Ali's calligraphy in the copy of Khwaja Kirmani's love episode between Humay and Humayun dated 799 A.H. (1396 C.E.) is preserved in the British Museum. 'Abd al-Rahim, *Khan-i-Khanan*, was a remarkable penman of Jahangir's court; and according to Ziauddin, the superintendent of his library, the Mulla Muhammad Amin, a reputed calligraphist, was paid a monthly salary of four thousand rupees. Hodivala refers to *Iqbalnamah*, wherein it is stated that Nur Jahan's *Farmans* contained formula in the Tughra characters.

Shahjahan's patronage of fine arts

The reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shihabuddin Shahjahan (1627-1658 C.E.) saw a climax of the Mughal empire. Fine arts flourished remarkably during his régime. A notable development took place in the art of calligraphy. Shahjahan was himself a calligrapher of no mean order. Mir 'Imad al-Husaini of Qazwin, the unapproachable master of the Nasta'liq style, was very much admired by him. The *Tazkirah-i-Khushnawisaan* mentions that Shahjahan gave the title of *Yak-Sadi* (Centurion) to everyone who presented him with a specimen of his writing.

Shahjahan's court was adorned by a host of noted penmen. The famous Aqa 'Abd al-Rashid Dailami, a pupil and a cousin of Mir 'Imad, migrated to India after his master had been murdered and was warmly received at the Emperor's court. His calligraphic work became extremely popular and those who possessed his specimens were afraid of exhibiting them lest they should be lost. Once Ghulam Muhammad, *Haft Qalami*, presented a few specimens of the Aqa's writing to Hafiz Nurullah, a master-calligraphist. Hafiz was so much impressed by the specimens that "from morning till after the noon he looked at them". The Aqa died at an advanced age and was buried at Akbarabad, where his death anniversary was regularly observed in the

month of Muharram and provided an opportunity for the calligraphists of Delhi and the neighbourhood to assemble and exchange their views on the art once a year. A copy of Aqa Rashid's specimen is in the Delhi Museum.

Sayyid 'Ali Tabrizi was another noted calligraphist of Shahjahan's court. The Emperor conferred on him the title of *Jawahir Raqam*. He adopted the style of Mir 'Imad. The third great name associated with the Emperor's court was 'Abd al-Baqi. He was invited to visit India by the Prince Aurangzeb during the latter part of Shahjahan's rule. The Emperor conferred on him the title of *Yaqut Raqam*. He was without an equal in *Khatt-i-Khafi*. Though he returned to his native country after a short stay he left many pupils who maintained his style in India. One more notable calligrapher of this reign was Muhammad Muqem.

The Emperor took great care to give his sons training in calligraphy. Under the guidance of 'Aqa 'Abd al-Rashid, Prince Dara Shikoh (d. 1659 C.E.) became proficient in this art. Sayyid 'Ali was appointed to train the Prince Aurangzeb in the art.

Calligraphy as an art in the reigns of Aurangzeb and his successors

With the coming of Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Alamgir (168-1707 C.E.) into power, fine arts generally declined. The only art that flourished under his direct supervision was calligraphy, as it did not come in conflict with his conception of Islamic purism. Aurangzeb appointed his teacher Sayyid 'Ali as the tutor for his sons and superintendent of his library. The Emperor was fond of copying the Qur'an and had acquired proficiency in this art. He is said to have lived on the money he earned by copying the holy text. He learnt the Naskh style from Muhammad 'Arif of Herat. Qazi 'Imadullah was a noted calligraphist of his court. Another famous name was Haji 'Islaami, whom the Emperor honoured with the title of *Raushan Raqam*. Hidayatullah, *Zarrin Raqam*, was appointed instructor to the Prince Kaampakhsh. Ashraf Khan and Nuruddin were also famous penmen of this period. The Princess Zeeb al-Nisaa' (d. 1702 C.E.), Aurangzeb's daughter and authoress of *Diwan-i-Makhfi*, was a worthy pupil of Aqa Rashid.

After Aurangzeb the disintegration of the Mughal Empire began but calligraphy as a fine art continued even under his weak successors. Murid Khan, of the Emperor Muhammad Shah's court (1719-1748 C.E.), was a good calligraphist, perfect in the *Shikasta*. Another calligrapher, Muhammad Afzal, followed the style of Aqa Rashid and was known as *Aqa-i-thani* (Aqa II). The last Mughal ruler, Bahadur Shah Zafar (1837-1858 C.E.), whom destiny had chosen to preside over the liquidation of the empire, was himself a master of the Naskh style. A few specimens of Bahadur Shah's penmanship, where he proves his skill in both the Naskh and Tughra, are preserved in the Delhi Museum. He wrote after the style of Qazi 'Isamatullah and had a number of illustrious disciples in calligraphy. After the Mughals, the art of calligraphy was highly prized and patronized by the Nizams of Hyderabad-Deccan, India.

Thus the art of calligraphy owed much to Mughal patronage in India. The empire of the Mughals has become a thing of the past, but the exquisite creations of the master calligraphists of their time still bear testimony to their refined culture and the magnificence of their taste.



EMBROIDERY IN ARABIC LETTERING ON CLOTH

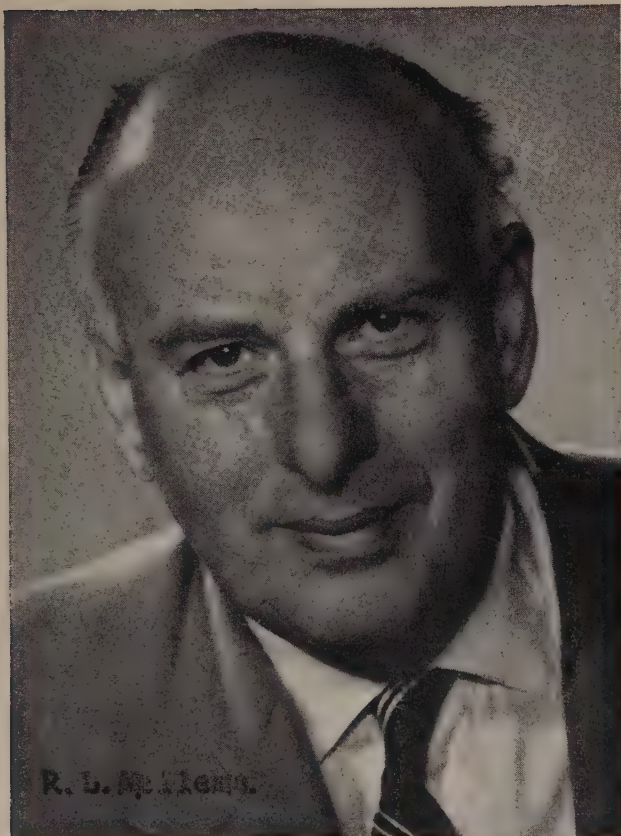
In this picture we mostly see the Naskh style of calligraphy, in which style the Qur'an is written. The use of this style is mostly confined to the Arab world.



"There is but one God; Muhammad is the Messenger of God"

WHAT HAS ATTRACTED ME TO ISLAM

By R. L. MELLEMA



Mr. R. L. Mellema is the in-charge of the Islamic Hall of the Tropical Museum, Amsterdam, and is the author of *Wayang Puppets*, *Grondwet van Pakistaan*, *Een Interpretatie van de Islaam*, etc.

I began with my study of Eastern languages at the University of Leiden in 1919 and attended the lectures of Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, the well-known Arabist. I learned Arabic, read and translated al-Baidāwī's commentary on the Qur'ān and al-Ghazālī's reflections on the Law. I studied the history and institutions of Islam from European handbooks, as was usual at that time. In 1921 I stayed in Cairo for one month and visited the al-Azhar University. Besides Arabic I studied other languages such as Sanskrit, Malay and Javanese. In 1927 I left for the then Netherlands Indies to teach Javanese languages and Indian cultural history at a special secondary school for advanced studies in Jogjakarta. For fifteen years I specialized myself in Javanese languages and culture (old and modern) and had little contact with Islam and no contact at all with Arabic.

After a difficult period which I spent as a Japanese prisoner of war, I went back to the Netherlands in 1946 and found a new task at the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam. Here I had the opportunity again to take up my study of Islam, being instructed to write a short guide on Islam in Java. I became more and more attracted to Islam, to which my contact with the Ahmadiyyah movement in Holland was not foreign. I started to study the new Islamic State of Pakistan. My studies ultimately led me on a journey to Pakistan in the winter of 1954/55. Having come to know Islam till then from European writers only, in Lahore I came to learn of quite another aspect of Islam. I asked my Muslim friends to be allowed to take part with them in the Friday prayers in the mosques, and from now on I began to discover the great values of Islam. I have felt myself a Muslim from the moment I had to address the people in one of the Lahore mosques and had to shake hands with innumerable new friends and brothers. I wrote about this event in an article, published in the *Pakistan Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 4, 1955, in the following lines :

"We were now to visit a much smaller mosque, where the sermon was delivered by a scholar who spoke English fluently and had a position of eminence at the University of the Punjab. He informed the congregation that he had deliberately interspersed more English words than usual in his sermon, as he thought that their brother who had come from a far country, the Netherlands, would then understand the Urdu discourse more easily. The sermon was followed by the usual recitation of two *rak'ahs* under the leadership of the Imam. This done, a few more *rak'ahs* were performed in silence by those who felt the need to do so.

"I was about to leave when the Imam, turning to me, observed that the assembly expected me to say a few words. He himself would translate them into Urdu. I went and stood before the microphone and quietly started to speak. I said how I had come from a far-away country where only a few Muslims live, whose greetings I conveyed to the brothers present in the mosque, who for the last seven years were so fortunate as to have their own Muslim State. In these few years the new State had succeeded in consolidating its position. After a difficult beginning they could undoubtedly look forward to a prosperous future. I promised them that, back in my country, I should bear witness to the great kindness and hospitality it had been my privilege to receive from all sections of the Muslim population in Pakistan. These words having been translated into Urdu had a wonderful effect, for, to my intense surprise, without even realizing at first what was happening, I saw hundreds of worshippers hasten forward to press my hands and to congratulate me. Old hands and young hands clasped mine with the most affectionate cordiality. But what struck and touched me most was the great warmth all these eyes radiated. At that moment I felt myself taken up in the great Brotherhood of Islam which extends over the world, and I was indescribably happy."

So the people of Pakistan made me understand that Islam was more than just acquaintance with many details of the Law, that belief in the moral values of Islam had to come first and that knowledge should be conditional to reaching faith. On 26th October 1956 I announced the acceptance of Islam in Holland at a meeting of the Friends of Islam, held at Grand Hotel Krasnapolsky, Amsterdam (*The Islamic Review*, November 1959, p. 46).

What is now for me the beauty of Islam and what in particular has attracted me to this faith? I will try to give below a short answer to these questions :

- (1) The acknowledgment of One Supreme Being, uncomplicated and easy to accept by every reasonable thinking creature : God is He on Whom all depend. He begets not, nor is He begotten and none is like Him. He represents the highest wisdom, the highest strength and the highest beauty. His Charity and Mercy are boundless.
- (2) The relation between the Creator of the Universe and His creatures, of whom man has been entrusted with the supreme direction, is a direct one. The believer does not need any mediation ; Islam does not need priesthood. In Islam contact with God depends on man himself. Man has to prepare himself in this life for the next. He is responsible for his deeds, which cannot be compensated by a substituting sacrifice of an innocent person. No soul shall be burdened beyond its capacity.
- (3) The doctrine of tolerance in Islam is clearly manifested in the well-known words : *There is no compulsion in religion*. A Muslim is recommended to search for the truth where he may find it ; also he is enjoined to estimate the good properties of other religions.
- (4) The doctrine of brotherhood in Islam extends to all human beings, no matter what colour, race or creed. Islam is the only religion which has been able to realize this doctrine in practice. Muslims wherever in the world they are will recognize each other as brothers. The equality of the whole mankind before God is symbolized significantly in the *ihram* dress during the Pilgrimage to Mecca.
- (5) The fact that Islam accepts matter and mind both as existing values. The mental growth of man is connected inseparably with the needs of the body, whereas man has to behave in such a way that mind prevails over matter and matter is controlled by mind.
- (6) The prohibition of alcoholic drinks and narcotic drugs. This in particular is a point in respect of which it may be said that Islam is far ahead of its time.

PIG — TRANSMITTER OF DISEASE

The Nursing Mirror for 3rd June 1960, p. xii (published by Dorset House, Stamford Street, London, S.E.1), has the following information on the pig's flesh which supports the stand taken by Judaism (Christianity), and Islam in prohibiting its consumption by human beings.

"The adult taenia solium worm is about 6 ft. in length and found in the intestine of human beings. Mature segments are 1 cm. long and 7-8 mm. broad. Each segment is an hermaphrodite. The male organs disappear before the segments become mature. Ripe segments, having only 9-12 lateral branches to the uterus, become detached, passing out in the faeces, and may be eaten by an intermediate host. A limited number of eggs are given off by the terminal segments and may be found occasionally in the faeces.

"To complete the development of the egg, it must be swallowed by a pig, the shell being digested and the embryo

set free. It reaches the muscles, tongue, neck, shoulder, diaphragm, brain, eye, etc., via the lymphatic system. It loses its hooklets, develops into a bladder-like larva called cysticercus with an invaginated head or scolex, armed with hooks. The cysts are the size of a pea. Pig flesh which is infected with cysticercus is known as 'measly pork'.

"Man contracts the infection through eating meat that is measly. The cysticerci have been found alive four weeks after the pig has been killed. Cold storage does not destroy it ; proper cooking is the only answer.

"Man can accidentally become infected with the cysticercosis stage by swallowing eggs from his own infected faeces. When British soldiers were serving in India, cerebral cysticercosis was common. If there is brain involvement with cysticerci it may give rise to epileptic fits."



THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF ALGERIA AND THE NATIONAL RISINGS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A short history of the Resistance movements of 'Abd al-Qadir, Haji Ahmad, Abu Ma'zee, Lallah Fatimah, al-Haddad, Sulayman Ibn Hamzah

By Dr. S. M. 'IMAMUDDIN

North-West Africa down to the 19th century

North Africa comprising Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Tripolitania forms an important *bloc* of the Arab countries. Although physically a part of Africa, a continent three times greater than Europe, it was politically a part of Asia for centuries. *Al-Maghrib* (North-West Africa) had been mostly connected with the civilization of the Middle East. It had been the seat of Phoenician civilization before it was conquered by the Romans for Hellenism. It was subsequently attached to the Middle East by the Arabs, who gave the North Africans their Arabic language, Islamic faith and their blood, too. As a result even in the mountainous regions of Morocco, which is supposed to be the stronghold of the Berber customs and language, the literate person is he who can speak, read and write Arabic,¹ which developed and became the spoken language in North Africa while Berber continued to be the language of the rustic and illiterate people.²

Being separated from the continent of Europe by only the narrow Straits of Gibraltar, the coastal strips of North Africa were often invaded by the rulers of Southern Europe. After the fall of Carthage³ in 146 B.C., it was assimilated into the Roman Empire. Ceuta was ruled by the Goths of Spain in the 7th century C.E., and certain parts of North Africa were controlled by the Muslim rulers of Spain in the early Middle Ages albeit with some break. The coast was frequented by the Sicilian Normans in the 12th century and the Portuguese and the Spaniards in the 15th and 16th centuries. But actual European penetration only began afterwards in the 19th century when the French, the Italians and

the Spaniards divided the coastal strip of North Africa among themselves while the British occupied Egypt.

North Africa being cut off by the Sahara (lit. desert) from the main part of the continent was also economically connected with Southern Europe in the ancient and medieval periods. This part of the continent had commercial and cultural relations with the outside world, while the rest of Africa remained unknown to the Europeans until the 19th century. The European explorers of the 15th century knew only the outline of the great continent, although, two hundred years earlier, the Arabs had already penetrated into the hinterlands of the continent as explorers but not as conquerors.⁴

The era of European colonialism in North-West Africa

Until the 19th century, the Europeans had been satisfied with carrying trade along the coast and could not think of either occupying the coast or penetrating into the interior because the Turks were powerful in the Mediterranean and the Arab-Berber resistance in *al-Maghrib* was still much too strong to be overcome by the Europeans. Besides these, the Europeans had more prospects in the Spice Islands and the Americas, which they had occupied three centuries earlier. The French took increasing initiative in conquering and penetrating into this region as they had lost ground in India, and as the Turkish hold had shrunk greatly in North Africa. The importance of North-West Africa increased in the eyes of the Europeans all the more when the opening of the Suez Canal redirected the attention of the European merchants to their way to the East of the Mediterranean. The

Western European nations penetrated into tropical Africa through the south.

After the establishment of the trading stations on the western and eastern coasts of Africa by European nations like the English, the French, the Dutch, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the European explorers and missionaries became greatly interested in the heart of Africa. These developments gradually opened the eyes of the European powers to the possibilities of acquiring territories. Hence for some sixty years after 1815, the European powers made slow progress in this direction. They occupied the North African countries one after the other on the pretext of suppressing the Barbary Corsairs who used to collect tribute from the Christian shipping in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. France annexed Algeria between 1830 and 1847 and Tunisia in 1881. Tripolitania was detached from the Ottoman Empire by the Italians in 1911 and a French Protectorate was established in Morocco in the following year.

Under the Turkish occupation North Africa became socially and economically degraded. The beginnings of European encroachment into North Africa

During the period of Turkish occupation, the countries of North Africa suffered considerably from social and economic disaster. Turkish pashas were appointed as nominal heads of the administration. The countries were actually ruled by the Ojaks of the Janissaries, who formed States within States. During the decay of the central government in Turkey, dominant oligarchies were formed by the Janissaries in various parts of the Empire. These mercenaries began to marry into local families, as a result of which a new ethnical group, the Qulughli, came into existence. The Pasha was assisted by a *Diwan* consisting of Bey (a civil head) and Dey (a military chief). The military chief actually administered the country, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, when anarchy prevailed and the Janissaries rebelled. This state of political confusion allowed the foreign consuls to consolidate their influence in the countries. The main defect of the Turkish rule was that the interiors of the countries were left practically unadministered. Tribal chiefs entrusted with the task of collecting tributes and taxes were exempted from paying the tithe and the capitation-tax. This privilege gave them opportunities for oppression and rebellion. The history of the 18th century was one of intrigues and rebellions, and the main source of income of the Government and the aristocrats of the countries in this period was the tribute collected from European merchant shipping. This, however, often brought them in collision with European powers and caused their coastal towns to be bombarded by European mariners.

Thus left neglected by the Turkish pashas, North Africans became socially and economically degraded, and began to lead generally nomadic lives. Some had begun to follow piracy as a livelihood in the Mediterranean, occasionally compelling the European sailors to pay exorbitant tributes to them. Undoubtedly the North African Muslims were comparatively more backward than their brethren in Egypt or Syria, but it is too much to say, as Professor Arnold Toynbee holds, that they were "comparatively weak and that there seemed even less prospect of an Islamic revival in al-Maghrib than in other parts of the Islamic world".⁵ The Arab-Berber tribes resisted the French intrusion very stubbornly and did not allow the French to rule peacefully. Similar to Wahhabism in Arabia there was the Sanusi movement⁶ in North Africa which denounced the superstitions and innovations which had grown up in Islam

and organized the tribesmen to live settled lives in groups along the oasis and the coast. But the tribal chiefs, the religious reformers and patriots could not stand long against the mechanical warfare and technique of the French. The British, who were interested in the Egyptian and Middle Eastern affairs, left the French alone, thus enabling them to tackle the North-African problems in the 19th century. Besides these, there was a clash of interests of Russia, France and Britain in the Middle East, and all European powers helped Turkey against each other in order to maintain Turkish supremacy with a view to advancing indirectly their own political and economic interests. Therefore, the question of the fall of the Arab and non-Arab countries in the Middle East into the hands of the European powers was necessarily intricate. Like their brothers in the East, the North African Muslims despised the political and economic control of the West but not the Western ideas and institutions which they rather imbibed and adopted for building up their own nations.

North African piracy in the Mediterranean incenses France against Algeria

In the 16th and 17th centuries the African pirates had made miserable the lives of European travellers and merchants in the Mediterranean. By the beginning of the 19th century the situation had, however, improved to a great extent. On the pretext of suppressing the pirates, Algeria was bombarded by Charles X in 1819, about a year after its Turkish occupation, though with disastrous consequences.⁷ Some European powers, however, especially Austria, being allied with Turkey against Russia, were not inclined to risk Turkish friendship by themselves attacking Algeria or Tunisia. Moreover, the two European powers particularly interested in the navigation of the Mediterranean, viz., Spain and Italy, were still strong enough in the first half of the 16th century to take suitable measures against the Algerian



The Amir of Mascara, 'Abd al-Qadir (d. 1882), who resisted the French military occupation of Algeria for more than thirty years

pirates. Before the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the British were hardly interested in the commerce of the Mediterranean because they were already carrying on lucrative trade with India by the Cape route. The French Empire, once a mighty colonial power, had itself shrunk to small possessions by 1815 on the north coast of South America, on the Senegal River, in the West Indies and in India. So its motives were to regain its lost military glory and to acquire new territories nearer home for the purchase of raw materials and the sale of finished industrial products. The French Government now became interested in expanding her colonial empire in Algeria and other North African regions. The European Mediterranean powers, however, found it difficult to suppress or control the Algerian oaks and pirates. A decision was taken by Charles X of France to undertake an expedition against Algeria. France found a suitable pretext for intervention when the Algerian Government levied a higher rate of tax for fishing coral at La Calle, on the coast of Bona, and also demanded payment for grain delivered to the French Directory.⁸ But the negotiations over the questions of payment to the grain dealer failed ultimately and the French Consul in Algeria was insulted. This led to the appearance of French ships in the Bay of Algeria to force an apology from the Bey. One of the French boats was fired upon by the garrison of an Algerian fort in August 1829. This incident was enough to enrage Charles X, who had already planned to occupy Algeria. An expedition comprising 600 boats and seven small steamers carrying about 30,000 French soldiers was sent to Algeria in July 1830, and within a month Husayn Dey capitulated. Algeria fell into the hands of the French and the Dey along with his ministers and 25,000 Janissaries was transported to Asia Minor.⁹ Twenty-four years later an observer of the event sums up the French action in the following words :

"It was a flagrant violation of the law of nations. For, whatever may have been the conduct of the Dey towards the consul of France, the Turkish Sultan, as sovereign of the country, offered full reparation to the French. . . . But the French Government gave no answer. . . . Besides, Charles X had previously assured the British Government that France had no intention of any territorial aggrandisement, and yet the occupation took place, and Louis Philippe kept the country."¹⁰

Algerian resistance to French occupation started by 'Abd al-Qadir

Shortly after conquering the town of Algeria, the French occupied a number of places on the Mediterranean coast and marched into the interior to punish the Berber tribes, the Kabyles and the Khroumirs, who led by the patriots harassed the French on the coast of Algeria. Gradually the resistance of the nationalists began to stiffen and the French were pressed by 'Abd al-Qadir, the Amir of Mascara, in the south-west of Oran, from the west, and Hadschi (Haji) Ahmad Bey of Constantine, from the east. Their resistance made the position of the French precarious in the country.

It was the revolutionary spirit of the Western Arab world against European imperialism which made several chiefs rise and organize the Arab people in defence of their freedom and land "against invaders of another race and religion".¹¹

Against the French the Dey capitulated, but this surrender did not mean the defeat of the Algerians. The French occupation was resisted vehemently by the nationalist leaders, among whom the important personalities were 'Abd al-Qadir, Haji Ahmad, Abu Ma'zee and Abu

Zayyaan, whose services to the country are still recounted with pride by their countrymen.

'Abd al-Qadir, the son of a Murabit, was a young man of twenty-two years with all the qualities of an Arab military leader ; accordingly he was regarded as the saviour of Islam by the Banu Hashim chiefs and other tribes of Oran. 'Abd al-Qadir established himself in Oran and resisted the French aggression from the time Marshal Bourmont attacked Sidi Faraj in June 1830. The Arabs of Algeria offered stout resistance, especially when they received Moroccan aid under Abu 'l-Hasan at Tlemcen (Tilimsan) in October 1830. Abu 'l-Hasan was joined by Muhyi al-Din in the *Jihad* (holy war) against the French,¹² who appointed the pro-French Tunisian Bey as Governor of Oran, thus trying to sow discord and dissension among the Arab chiefs, but this proved to be in vain. Tribal turmoils subsided, but national consciousness was aroused and common defence was offered against the French aggression. But even so, 'Abd al-Qadir failed to liberate his country, because the Moroccan Sultan and the Tunisian Bey stood aside, leaving him alone to fight against the more organized and better equipped French soldiery.¹³

The French, being pressed from two sides, Oran on the West and Constantine on the east, were forced to conclude two unfavourable treaties with 'Abd al-Qadir. In order to deal with the lord of Constantine, the French General Desmichels concluded the first of these treaties with 'Abd al-Qadir, accepting him as the ruler of the whole West (al-Maghrib). But being a national leader, 'Abd al-Qadir was more interested in freeing the whole country from the French intrusion than in safeguarding his own personal interests. Seeing the gradual encroachment of the French on Algerian territory, he attacked the French army under Trezel at Macta, near Oran, in July 1835 and dealt him a severe defeat. Since then 'Abd al-Qadir, who had adopted the title of Commander of the Faithful, was regarded as the saviour of Islam in North Africa.¹⁴ But the French force regained strength after the appointment of Clauzel as Governor-General in August 1835 and defeated 'Abd al-Qadir and relieved the Turks besieged by 'Abd al-Qadir's men in Tlemcen.¹⁵ 'Abd al-Qadir's capital, Mascara, was now attacked and partly destroyed before its occupation by the French. In spite of the loss of the capital, the war of liberation was continued by the Amir 'Abd al-Qadir. The French could not fight war on two fronts at Constantine and Mascara. They were forced to conclude a second treaty at the Tafnah River in May 1837 by the terms of which 'Abd al-Qadir recovered Mascara, the whole of Oran and part of the province of Algeria.

'Abd al-Qadir trained his soldiers in the European fashion. He extended his authority eastward and in the Sahara and appointed governors in Laghwat, Ziban and the Majanna. He considered the French advance towards Constantine as a breach of the terms of the treaty of the Tafnah and proclaimed a holy war at Médea in 1830. He launched an unsuccessful attack on a body of French riflemen entrenched at Mazagoran in February 1840 and was defeated at Shiffa. Médea fell into the hands of the French in October 1840. The native soldiers employed and equipped by the French pursued 'Abd al-Qadir in the mountainous country from place to place. All the important cities, Mascara, Taghdent, the new capital of 'Abd al-Qadir, Biskara, Tlemcen and Sebdu, fell into the hands of the French, and 'Abd al-Qadir himself had to flee to Morocco for refuge.

Trouble arose between the French and the Moroccans when the Sultan of Morocco refused to hand over the Algerian refugee to the French. The French attacked

Morocco from the sea and bombarded Tangier and Mogador. The French troops under the command of General Bugeaud marched into the territory of the Sultan. The untrained Moroccan soldiers were defeated on the Isly, a tributary of the Tafnah. The Sultan had to conclude a treaty with the French at Tangier in September 1844 according to which the French suzerainty was accepted over the whole of Algeria, and the Sultan agreed to expel 'Abd al-Qadir. The latter, however, escaped to the mountainous region to the south of Mascara and evaded the French for three years, but ultimately surrendered in December 1847. He was held captive in Amboise but was later set free and settled at Brusa in December 1852. Thirty years later he died at Damascus.¹⁶

The resistance of Haji Ahmad, the Lord of Constantine, and Abu Ma'zee

There were other parties and national leaders who resisted the French aggression and settlement in other parts of Algeria. Haji Ahmad, the Lord of Constantine, was a very strong and able leader of the time. He used to pay tribute to the Algerian Bey before the occupation of Algeria by the French. He planned to establish an independent kingdom at the coastal town of Bona after its occupation by the French. Before entering into the interior the French wanted to establish themselves firmly in the coastal regions. They therefore concluded a treaty with 'Abd al-Qadir as described above to enable them to pay attention to Haji Ahmad. Some treacherous followers of Haji Ahmad divulged his plans, and advised the French to launch a campaign on Constantine, the strongly fortified rocky fortress, which was attacked by 7,000 French soldiers under the command of General Clauzel. The French attack was, however, repulsed. After concluding the unfavourable treaty with 'Abd al-Qadir in May 1837 at the Tafnah River as described above, the French once more besieged Constantine with 12,000 soldiers and ultimately forced it to capitulate in October 1837. In memory of the victory a port, Philippeville, was constructed for the newly-acquired province of Constantine, named after the French ruler Philippe.¹⁷

Besides these patriots, there were national leaders and religious teachers who had no principalities of their own but organized the people against the French. Abu Ma'zee, a Moroccan, came to Algeria in 1835¹⁸ and mobilized the people of Southern Oran and Zawaawah against the foreigners. He formed a party of his own in Algeria independent of 'Abd al-Qadir and frustrated for two years the efforts of the French to punish him. Later he joined 'Abd al-Qadir and was appointed Governor of Zawaawah. He fought in the ranks of 'Abd al-Qadir until 1845 when the latter was forced to seek refuge in Morocco. Abu Ma'zee continued resistance and defeated the French at Sidi Ibrahim, to the west of Jaami' al-Ghazwat, but he was subsequently defeated and taken prisoner when General Bugeaud received a reinforcement of 10,000 soldiers. Later, on being released, he went to Turkey and fought in the Crimean War on behalf of the Ottomans, and was taken prisoner by the Russians at Batum in the Caucasus.¹⁹

Even after the suppression of 'Abd al-Qadir and Abu Ma'zee, the struggle for liberation continued in Algeria. In 1849, Abu Zayyan, a national leader, escaped the attack of the Governor of the Za'atashah and preached the Algerians to resume the war against the French. Some 3,000 people rallied round his banner near an oasis which was besieged six months later by 10,000 French soldiers. The oasis was destroyed and thousands of the Algerians were killed. Abu Zayyan was captured and beheaded, and hundreds of others,

including 117 women, were bayoneted.²⁰ Thus ended the war of independence after a severe resistance of eighteen years, and French rule was established in the country.

The French declared Algeria to be a French possession in 1824 and encouraged the French to settle in Algeria

Four years after the French occupation, Algeria was proclaimed to be a French possession by a decree issued by Louis Philippe in 1834 C.E., and the work of colonization and assimilation was started, and continued more vigorously from 1840 and completed within twelve years. The lands formerly belonging to the Turkish soldiers and the fiefs of the Beys as well as the lands of the supporters of 'Abd al-Qadir and other patriots were acquired and confiscated. The Kabyles alone had to relinquish 453,000 hectares of land for the settlement of the French colonists.²¹ Land was distributed freely among the French soldiers and European colonists on condition that they would till the soil for nine years or at least five years.

In order to keep the purity of the French nationals the soldiers were not allowed to marry native girls. Some time after 1840, a depot for marriageable girls was opened at Toloun where French soldiers could find a wife readily of their choice.²² The French settlers in Algeria enjoyed equal



The Algerian soldier of 100 years ago

rights of citizenship with the citizens of the mother country. In 1848 the French of Algeria elected deputies to the French legislature. All tariff barriers between the two countries were removed in 1851 and a political as well as an economic unity was established between France and Algeria, and as a result the population of French *colons* rose from 600 in 1830 to 159,000 in 1856 and 752,000 in 1911.²³

The assimilation policy of the French antagonized the Algerians and created hostility between the rulers and their subjects. In 1857 the Yenni tribe rose under the leadership

of a prophetess, Lallah Fatimah, in the Kabyles country. In 1864-5, Si Sliman and his uncle Si Lala of the Berber clan, of the family of Sidi Shaykh, gave much trouble to the French in the south.²⁴ The agitation continued until the promulgation of the famous *Senatos Consultum* by Napoleon III in 1865. This conferred some rights upon the Algerians as well as on the French, tending to make for equality. The Emperor declared, "Algeria is not a colony but an Arab kingdom. I am as much Emperor of the Arabs as of the French. Both are equal in my eyes."²⁵ Accordingly the Algerians were entitled to have religious and political equality and hold civil and military posts. However, it was difficult to put these promises into practice, because of the opposition of the French colonists in Algeria. Napoleon's democratic policy and high-sounding words only served to deceive the Algerians, who ceased to resist the French rule and began to fight for equality.

French repression in Algeria

With the establishment of the Third Republic under Gambetta in 1871, bad days came for the Algerians, and a régime of slavery was imposed upon the Algerians, who were denied even civil rights and placed under the absolute rule of the Governor-General. The latter's acts of persecution had constitutional approval behind them.²⁶ In order to increase the French population in Algeria, the Jews were settled *en masse*, some Berber tribes were assimilated and some Muslims were baptized.

The patronization of the Jews and European settlers by the French Government was particularly looked down upon by the nationalist Arabs, who rose against the French and received help from the Berber tribe of the Kabyles, but they were suppressed, and as a result their lands were confiscated and distributed among the Alsations in 1871. The majority of the European settlers, however, came from Spain and Italy, and not from France.

The French persecution and their interference in the religious affairs of the Muslims agitated the Algerians greatly and led them to rise in open hostility against the French rule. Even the Bashagha family of the Majanna in Constantine, who had been showered with honours by the French Government after the conquest of Constantine, stood in opposition against the French policy of colonization and assimilation. The Berbers rebelled in the Zawaawah region under the leadership of Agha al-Hajj Muhammad al-Muqrani.²⁷ The patriotic instinct of the people was aroused by the teachings of the Shaykh Muhammad al-Haddad, a great religious leader of the Rahmaniyyah order.²⁸ The rebellion lasted for six months and caused tremendous loss of life on both sides. The French were reinforced and al-Muqrani was killed in action in May 1871. He was succeeded by his brother, the Shaykh Abu Muzraq.²⁹ Excessive atrocities were committed by the French during and after the rebellion, which was finally crushed, and 500 patriot chiefs, including Abu Muzraq the Shaykh al-Haddad, were exiled for life to the distant islands of New Caledonia in the Pacific. A levy of 360,000 francs was imposed on those who escaped death and exile, and when they failed to pay the levy they were brutally tortured and their property confiscated.³⁰ In the war of emancipation the Kabyles suffered the most. They lost their autonomous communal administration, paid the war indemnity and relinquished their lands for the settlement of the European immigrants.³¹

This movement of emancipation was followed by another in Oran on a similar scale, which continued for five years. The Algerian leader al-Pasha Agha Sulayman Ibn Hamzah was killed at last, the rebellion subsided and the

conquerors meted out severe punishment to the defeated Algerians.³² Further Algerian risings took place in other parts of the country — the Auries in 1879, Makranun Kabylia, Ben Amema and Si Tlemcen in the south of Oran in 1881, by which the French boundaries were extended to Ain-Sefra in Oran, Quargla in Constantine and Laghwat in Algeria.³³

While the Algerian nationalists had risen in open revolt in different parts of the country against the French oppressive policy, a peaceful reformist movement began among the literate Algerians. There was a class of such persons as devoted themselves to the social and religious reforms of the people. Among such organizers of peaceful movements was an Algerian intellectual, Muhammad al-Badawi, who demanded full rights for the Algerians. The Anglo-French agreement signed in 1904, by which the French authority in North Africa was recognized by the English, alarmed the Moroccans, who were determined to frustrate the attempt to establish French rule in Morocco. Thus there was repercussion in Oran, where a secret terrorist party was formed by Zayyan al-Qali with the object of killing every French governor and every organized Algerian found to be active in collusion with the French.

Why the various risings of the Algerians in the 19th century against the French rule failed

For the expulsion of the Dey and his ministers, whom the French could have very well utilized as their mouth-pieces, as they did later on in Tunisia and Morocco, to Asia Minor, the French had to pay heavily, and had a long fight against other Muslim chiefs and patriots. But the national risings in Algeria had to face many difficulties, especially in their preliminary stages, due to various reasons which are not far to seek. The religious and national feelings tended to unite the Algerians against foreign aggression, but the natural and political difficulties forced them to separate and created dissensions among them: The same physical features of the country with the mountains and deserts which had once helped the Algerians in defending their country against European occupation proved now a stumbling block in the way of the liberation movement in the country. Algeria, a country of deserts and hills, did not produce enough forthwith for the maintenance of its inhabitants before the implementation of the agricultural development scheme of the French. The Algerians, therefore, being poor, could not give proper education to their children and lived mostly the lives of rustics by rearing cattle. At the time of war they could not even have the essential supplies of food and water. The communications being bad, the exchange of views was not easily practicable between the patriots working in various parts of the country. Sometimes the news of national risings in one part of the country was not known for weeks in another part. As a result, the Algerians could not organize themselves well and offer united resistance to the French. These difficulties the Algerians, however, might have surmounted even in the 19th century, and perhaps more easily than ever after the French settlement, had they enjoyed freedom of expression. The French, the so-called lovers of freedom and the champions of revolutions, gave freedom of expression to their own people and the North African refugees in their own country, but not in their colonies. The treachery, as is usual especially among the economically depressed and culturally degraded peoples, played its own part in the history of the national movement in Algeria. Some Algerian Muslims, though very few in number, were won over by the French with offers of money and office leading to the liberation movement, partly

described above, the drama of which was yet to be staged even more vigorously by the Algerians in the 20th century.³⁴

REFERENCES

- 1 Landau, Rom: *The Moroccan Drama*, San Francisco, 1956, p. 88.
- 2 Collner, Ernest: "Independence in the Central High Atlas" in *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, XI, 1957, p. 252.
- 3 Cf. Church, Alfred J.: *Carthage or The Empire of Africa*, London, 1880.
- 4 As early as the 10th century C.E., Spanish Muslim sailors of Lisbon made an attempt to explore the extent of the Atlantic Ocean (Cf. Abu 'l-Fida, *Geografia*, II, p. 25). About two centuries and a half later a Spanish Muslim sailor, Ibn Fatimah, travelled along the Atlantic coast of Africa and wrote about the interior of Africa. His work has not come down to us but it was utilized by a Spanish author, Ibn Sa'id, about 1274 C.E. (Cf. J. H. Kramers, "Geography and Commerce" in *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 91, 102).
- 5 Toynbee, Arnold J.: *Survey of International Affairs*, 1925, Vol. I, *The Islamic World*, Oxford, 1927, p. 94.
- 6 The founder of the celebrated military brotherhood of the Sanusiyyah (the Sanusis) order was Sidi Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi al-Mujahiri al-Hasani al-Idrisi. He was born in 1791 at Tursh, near Mostagnem (Algeria) in the duar of the Khataatiba (ulad Sidi Yusuf) of Zaiyani Berber stock, and died at Jaghub (Cyrenaica) in 1859. He received his first lessons from Abu Haas (d. 1823) and Belganduz (d. 1829) in his native land. He learnt Qur'anic exegesis, tradition, the principles of law and jurisprudence, at Fez. He went on pilgrimage in 1830 and stayed at Mecca for about fourteen years. He settled in Cyrenaica and founded the first *Zawiyah* (centre) at Rafa'a. He moved from place to place and reached Jaghub in 1855, and peopled it with freed men. His grandson, Muhammad Idris (b. 1883), received an estate in the West in 1909 and ruled it under Italian protection from 1916 to 1923. Ahmad Sharif (b. 1880), the nephew of Muhammad Idris and grandson of the founder of the Sanusis, the brotherhood movement, from 1901 to 1925, conducted the Pan-Islamic campaign from Angora in 1921 and the following years. His brother, Muhammad 'Aabid, who had been given an estate in the south in Fazzan, in 1909, directed the tribes of the Sahara rising against the French from 1916 to 1918. His other brother, Safi al-Din, was appointed President of the Italian Parliament at Cyrenaica in 1921. The centres (*Zawiyah*) of this movement increased from 22 in 1850 to 100 in 1884. The headquarters of the movement occasionally shifted from Jaghub (1855-95) to Kufa (1895-1899), thence to Guro (1899-1902) and back to Kufa again in 1902. Sidi Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi wrote four works, one on the *usul* and another on the harmony between the Qur'an and Hadith independent of the four schools, and the other two works on mysticism, one proving the orthodoxy of his order and the other dealing with the religious practices of the order, particularly *dhikr*, which tallies word by word with the *Adab al-dhikr* of Abu Sa'id Qadiri written in India in 1686. The Sanusi order developed at Cyrenaica and Fez. It also flourished at Mecca, where it took a definite shape under the influence of Ahmad Ibn Idris al-Faasi (d. 1837), the founder of the Khadiriya-Idrisiya and teacher of the Sanusi order. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, pp. 154-5.
- 7 Cf. Ludwig, Emil: *The Mediterranean*, New York, 1942, p. 437.
- 8 Towards the end of the 18th century there were cordial relations between Algeria and France. During Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, the French Army was supplied with grain by the Dey of Algeria through two Jewish bankers, Bakri and Busnach. After a long negotiation, the price was fixed at 7,000,000 francs in October 1819, and paid to the bankers, who had meanwhile fallen out with the Algerian Government. The bankers instead of paying this amount into the Algerian Treasury and consequently to the corn dealers of Algeria, retained the money in France. The Algerian Dey, therefore, when demanding direct payment of the money, caused direct relations between France and Algeria to become strained. Cf. Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, London, 1949, p. 397.
- 9 Cf. Fueter and Fay: *World History (1815-1920)*, London, 1923, p. 118.
- 10 Cf. Pulsky, Francis: *The Tricolour in the Atlas*, Edinburgh, 1954, p. 387.
- 11 Fueter and Fay, p. 118.
- 12 Cf. 'Atiyah, Edward: *The Arabs*, Edinburgh, 1955, p. 139. Also 'Allal al-Fasi: *The Independence Movement in Arab North-Africa*, Washington, 1954, p. 9.
- 13 Cf. 'Allal al-Fasi, p. 90.
- 14 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 398.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 398.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 400-1.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 399.
- 18 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 400, says that Bu Ma'zah (literally the Man with the Goat), a Murabit religious teacher, appeared in the spring of 1845 and led the Berbers of the Dahrah against the French.
- 19 Allal al-Fasi, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
- 21 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
- 22 Cf. Fueter and Fay, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
- 23 Cf. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, I, p. 615.
- 24 Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 401.
- 25 Cf. 'Allal al-Fasi, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 14; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
- 28 Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 402. Rahmaniyyah is an Algerian order (*tariqah*) named after Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Gushtuli al-Jurjani al-Azhari Abu Qabrayn (d. 1793/4). Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman belonged to the tribe Ait Sma'il, part of the confederation of Gashtula in the Qabiliya Jurjura. He studied in Algeria and went on the pilgrimage in 1737-40. On his return journey he studied at the Azhar University and was initiated into the Khalwati order by his Egyptian teacher, Muhammad Ibn Salim al-Hafnawi (d. 1811), and was entrusted with the task of propagating the Khalwati order in the Sudan and India. Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman returned after thirty years to his native land and began to preach by founding a *Zawiyah* (centre). He introduced some modifications into Khalwati practice and wrote the *Seven Visions of the Prophet Muhammad*. Soon he won a large number of adherents, which brought him the enmity of the Murabits, and compelled him to migrate to Hamma, near Algiers. There also he was opposed by the religious teachers and charged with unorthodoxy. He had to appear before a *Majlis* presided by a Maliki Mufti, 'Ali Ibrahim, but he was acquitted of the charge of unorthodoxy through the influence of the Turkish Government. He returned to his village, where he died shortly afterwards. His corpse was later removed to Hamma by the Turks. So he had two graves, one in his village and another at Hamma, and became known as *Abu Qabrayn* (Father of Two Graves). He was succeeded by 'Ali Ibn 'Isa al-Maghribi (1793-1837). After him the movement was directed by various teachers like al-Hajj Bashir (d. 1843-4), who was a great supporter of Amir 'Abd al-Qadir and al-Hajj 'Ammaar. The latter organized his followers against the French and defeated them in some skirmishes in 1856. In the following year he was defeated by the French and had to surrender. Muhammad Amziyan Ibn al-Haddaad of Sadduq, the 80 year-old leader of the Ait Sma'il, proclaimed *Jihad* on 8th April 1871 against the French, who had recently been defeated by the Russians. But he could not make much headway against the French and had to surrender on 13th July 1871, and was sent to Bougie. The old *Zawiyah* had to be closed. His son 'Aziz escaped from life imprisonment in New Caledonia to Jedda, whence he directed the politico-religious movement in Algeria. But his absence from the country gave the Muqaddams appointed by his father and other founders of *Zawiyah* opportunity to declare their independence. The sphere of the influence of the Rahmaniyyah order had spread to Tunis and the Sahara. In 1807 the followers of the Rahmaniyyah order numbered about 156,214. The Rahmaniyyah people daily performed *dhikr*, especially on Thursdays and Fridays (Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, pp. 1104-5).
- 31 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
- 32 'Allal al-Fasi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.
- 31 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 402.
- 32 'Allal al-Fasi, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 34 *A Modern History of the Middle East and North Africa* by the author is under print and will soon be out.

CENTRE OF CULTURE IN EARLY ISLAM¹

By AFZAL IQBAL

Iraq

The role of Basra and Kufah in the spread of culture

Thanks to the Tigris and the Euphrates, Iraq is fertile and healthy. This accounts for its being a centre of the most ancient civilizations of the world dating back to the thirtieth century before Christ. The Babylonians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Persians and the Greeks established kingdoms in Iraq which were well known to the Arabs before Islam. An Arab principality was established in al-Hirah and later Iraq came under the Muslims during the days of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, who built the two cities of Kufah and Basrah. These cities which started as camps of the army rapidly grew and to them were transferred the treasures of Mada'in together with the ancient relics of Babylon and al-Hirah. During the Umayyad régime these cities became so important that the word Iraq, instead of denoting the country, came to mean Basra and Kufah. The two cities were sometimes referred to as the Two Iraqs (al-'Iraqayn).

The conquering Arabs in Iraq

With the conquest of Iraq by the Muslims, the natural tendency for the bedouin Arabs was to migrate to this fertile land where they could lead an easy life. According to al-Tabari, the Muslims during 'Umar's days were "playing with gold and silver in Iraq". 'Umar made the peasants of Iraq the proprietors of the land which they cultivated. Every *jarib*² of palm trees was subject to a land revenue of 10 dirhams, for sugar-cane the tax was 6 dirhams, and for barley only 2 dirhams. Notwithstanding the low taxation, the total land revenue, we are told, amounted to a hundred million dirhams. The other source of revenue was the poll-tax, varying from 12 to 48 dirhams per year on the non-Muslim population, which was estimated at 550,000. This gives us some idea of the wealth which attracted migration to Iraq.

The Arabs went to the new country as conquerors. They were, therefore, the aristocracy, rolling in wealth. Prosperity did not, however, soften or reduce the old tribal affiliations which the Arabs carried with them to Iraq. In fact they were as loyal as ever to their tribes. Kufa, for instance, was divided into two parts, the Eastern and the Western. In the Eastern sector, which was considered the fashionable area, lived the tribes of the Yemen, while in the West settled down the Nazar tribes. These tribes further spread into different streets according to the division of the sub-tribes who lived together. The number of Arabs from the Yemen was 12,000, while the Nazar had 8,000 men.³ These tribal affiliations had a far-reaching effect on subsequent history.

The Arabs were in a minority in Iraq, where the majority comprised the Persians, who came under the protection of the Arabs and were referred to as the *Mawali*.⁴ While the Arabs waged war, the *Mawali* looked after trade and commerce. The protected people bore allegiance not only to the person of the protector at whose hands they may have embraced Islam but to the entire Arab tribe to whom the protector belonged. This sense of loyalty developed into feelings of partisanship in all walks of life. My tribe, wrong or right, seemed to be the universally accepted motto. The *Mawali* identified themselves with the tribe with which they were originally associated and took pains to exaggerate its

virtues. This rivalry was carried to the field of literature, jurisprudence and religion, and pervaded, in fact, the whole life of tribes and cities. A'sha Hamadan, the poet from Kufah, has the following to say of Basra, not because it is true, but because his feelings of partisanship and narrow local patriotism must find expression at the expense of another town :

"Kick a man from Basra, wherever you find him
For he who is humble and mean deserves to be kicked.
Put a man from Kufah on horse-back
And the one from Basra at the back of the army (to
denote his cowardice !).
If you (people of Basra) want to take pride over us,
Then recall what we did to you in the Battle of the
Camel.
When your old men with dyed beards
And your young men, fair, stout and well-dressed
Came swaggering in their garments ;
We killed them in the morning like lambs.
We pardoned you but you forget (the gesture)
And deny the grace of God Almighty."

Iraq by far the most important centre of learning

There is no doubt that except in certain branches of learning in which the Hijaz excelled, Iraq was by far the most important centre of learning in the Muslim world. There were good reasons for this.

Iraq was an ancient centre of civilization and was heir to the best cultural traditions known to the contemporary world. Prosperity and leisure, which are essential concomitants of culture, were available in plenty in the rich and fertile land of Iraq.

During the Umayyad régime the country became a theatre of constant conflicts which started with the assassination of the Caliph 'Uthman (656 C.E.). This unfortunate event caused a cleavage in the Muslim ranks ; 'A'ishah, Talhah and al-Zubayr went to Basra while the successor Caliph, 'Ali, shifted his capital from Medina to Kufah. Then came the Battle of al-Jamal (the Camel) between the forces represented by Basra and Kufah. This was followed by an invitation to Husayn from Kufah, where he was killed. Al-Mukhtar al-Thaqafi appeared in Kufah to demand the revenge of Husayn's innocent blood. Mus'ib Ibn al-Zubayr occupied Basra and then moved forward to Kufah, where he killed al-Mukhtar ; the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik sent an army to Iraq and killed Mus'ib — killings were common and the people were told that all these killings were taking place for a cause.

Naturally the question arose in the minds of men whether those who had killed 'Uthman were right or those who had killed Husayn were right. In this state of mental confusion some people even suggested that 'Ali had a hand in the murder of 'Uthman. Talhah, al-Zubayr and the Prophet's own beloved wife, 'A'ishah, fought the Caliph of Islam in a battle. The people were bewildered. Were they to follow 'Ali, the Caliph established by law, or were they to follow his opponents? The Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-

¹ See *The Islamic Review* for June 1960.

Malik, was represented by a prefect, al-Hajjaj, in Iraq. He was a veritable tyrant and established the supremacy of his master with undiluted force. The people asked themselves whether it was their bounden duty as Muslims to live in a state of peace and order even under an oppressive and an unjust administration; were they to revolt against it? Were those who revolted considered rebels against God and Islam or were they right in making an effort at re-establishing the order of Islam in its pristine glory? All these questions were being debated by the people, and yet these questions had not arisen suddenly only in Iraq. They were debated even in the mosque of Medina when the Companions of the Prophet used to give an exposition of the Qur'ān.

While these questions were at that time primarily of an academic interest they assumed a practical importance in the case of Iraq, which was the theatre of most of the conflicts after the assassination of 'Uthman. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find Iraq being the centre of a variety of religious sects which were founded in this country. The foundations of all these schools were, however, laid on politics. We come across an interesting incident in the *Tabaqat* of Ibn S'ad. Hasan al-Basri, who was easily the most outstanding man of learning in this period of disturbances, was asked what he thought about al-Hajjaj, who had won for himself notoriety for bloodshed. Hasan al-Basri minced no words in condemning this powerful prefect. In another place in the same book we find Hasan al-Basri being confronted with the embarrassing question whether a Muslim should follow the ruling Caliph or a rebel against him. Hasan al-Basri, knowing full well the implications of the question in the contemporary politics, answered that one should be neither with the one nor with the other! A Syrian who was present on the occasion, when Hasan al-Basri expressed his opinion, was a little surprised at this answer and asked whether Hasan al-Basri was serious in advising that even the Prince of the Believers, i.e., the Caliph, should not be followed. Hasan al-Basri was emphatic and stated, "Yes, not even the Prince of the Believers."⁵

The majority of people living in Iraq comprised the non-Arabs. It was necessary, therefore, for them to learn Arabic, for without a workable knowledge of the language of the rulers it was simply impossible to make any headway or to win any favours. It was this vested interest in learning Arabic which gave birth to Arabic grammar. It is significant that this branch of knowledge originated in Iraq and not in the Hijaz or Syria. The reason is simple. The rules of grammar were required only by those who did not know the language and the people of the Hijaz did not, in any case, care to fall back on the help of rules and regulations for knowing the language in which they were proudly fluent. This explains why Arabic grammar was born in Basra and later flourished in Kufah. These two towns were Iraq *par excellence*, and without a description of their cultural history one cannot possibly have any idea of the contribution of Iraq to contemporary culture.

Prominent scholars of Kufah

'ABDULLA HIBN MAS'UD AND OTHERS

Many Companions of the Prophet Muhammad settled down in Kufah. Famous among these were 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib and 'Abdullah Ibn Mas'ud. With all his learning, however, 'Ali did not leave any lasting effect on any cultural movement on account of his pressing preoccupations with political life in Iraq. He became a Caliph under difficult circumstances and he could not, therefore, be expected to devote much attention to the pursuit of cultural activities in the midst of political turmoil. These limitations of 'Ali

worked to the advantage of Ibn Mas'ud, who deeply influenced the cultural life in Iraq. Ibn Mas'ud was one of the first to embrace Islam; he was perhaps the sixth to respond to the invitation of the Prophet Muhammad. Later he migrated to Abyssinia with a few other Muslims while the Prophet was still in Mecca. On his return from Abyssinia he had the privilege of accompanying the Prophet to Medina, where he served him for a long time. He was one of those rare men who were allowed access to the Prophet's household. He was a devoted student of the Qur'ān, which he committed to memory. He was considered one of the most learned Companions of the Prophet, to whom people looked for a correct explanation and interpretation of the Qur'ān. During the Caliphate of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab he was sent to Kufah in order to educate the people. The life of Ibn Mas'ud was singularly free from political controversy and he was able, therefore, to devote his time to the teachings of the Qur'ān in Iraq soon after it came under the Muslims. He came to have a large circle of students who were called the "Lights of Kufah" by Sa'id Ibn Jubayr. Ibn Mas'ud was a man of deep scholarship and profound judgment. He did not hesitate to use his own discretion where no clear judgment on a given issue was available either in the Qur'ān or the Hadith. His school produced, among others, six well-known students of the Qur'ān who were distinguished jurists. They were 'Alqamah, al-Aswad, Masruq, 'Ubaydah, al-Harith Ibn Qays and 'Amr Ibn Shurahbil. These scholars carried on the work of Ibn Mas'ud after him. We do not mean to suggest that all the students of Kufah belonged to the school of Ibn Mas'ud. There were certainly others who went to Medina and learnt from eminent Muslims like 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbas, Mu'adh and others. The fact remains, nevertheless, that these students, whether they learnt in Medina or at Kufah, formed the spearhead of a cultural movement in Kufah. This movement gathered momentum with the passage of time till it attained its peak with the appearance of Abu Hanifah.

Prominent scholars of Basrah

ASH'ARI, HASAN AL-BASRI AND ANAS

Many Companions of the Prophet settled down in Basrah. The most famous among these were Abu Musa al-Ash'ari and Anas Ibn Malik. Abu Musa belonged to the Yemen. He came to Mecca and embraced Islam. He was one of the early Muslims who migrated to Abyssinia. He was considered one of the most learned Companions of his time. He later moved to Basrah, where he settled down to teach the Qur'ān to the people. In addition to his deep scholarship in the Qur'ān and the Hadith, Abu Musa was considered a distinguished jurist.

Anas Ibn Malik belonged to the Ansars of Medina and was a boy when the Prophet migrated to Medina. He served the Prophet for about ten years and later came to Basrah, where he was the last Companion to die, in 92 A.H. (710 C.E.) He was not considered as great a scholar as Abu Musa or Ibn Mas'ud in Kufah. Anas was more of a traditionalist than a jurist. Some of the well-known personalities which graduated from the school of Basrah during the Umayyad period were al-Hasan al-Basri and Muhammad Ibn Seereen. Both these savants were sons of the *Mawali* and owed allegiance to the Arabs. Al-Hasan's father was the *Mawla* of Zayd Ibn Thabit, the famous Companion of the Prophet. The father of Muhammad was the *Mawla* of Anas Ibn Malik. Both these scholars, al-Hasan al-Basri and Ibn Seereen, were the leading lights of Basrah in their own day. Al-Hasan al-Basri was known for his learning,

eloquence, devotion and outspoken conduct. He expressed his opinion without any fear or favour. He frankly expressed disapproval of the claims of Yazid, son of Mu'awiyah, to the Caliphate of Islam. This was by no means an easy thing to do at a time when one had to pay with one's life for the expression of one's opinions. Al-Hasan al-Basri did so fearlessly while neither Ibn Seereen al-Sh'abi, the two contemporary leading jurists, dared express their opinion. This trait of his character lent a great charm to the personality of Hasan al-Basri, who, the reader will recall, did not hesitate to suggest that the Muslims did not have to offer their allegiance even to a Caliph when both parties to a conflict were equally bad! He was compared with al-Hajjaj in his eloquence. The Sufis claimed him as their master; the Mu'tazilites claimed him as their chief because in addition to the freedom of human will he also believed in destiny. Hasan al-Basri was a jurist whose verdicts were sought after. He was a sincere, true and a faithful narrator. With his death in 110 A.H. (728 C.E.) all the inhabitants of Basrah were found in his funeral procession and not a soul remained in the mosques for the afternoon prayers.

IBN SEEREEN

Ibn Seereen was educated by Zayd Ibn Thabit, Anas Ibn Malik, Shurayh and others. He was a traditionalist as well as a jurist. He was contemporary to Hasan al-Basri. Both of them were friends and rivals. There was a fundamental difference in their outlook. Al-Hasan was fearless, frank, outspoken and somewhat temperamental. He came out with what he sincerely believed irrespective of any political considerations. Ibn Seereen was, however, patient, calm and cautious in his utterances.⁶ Ibn Seereen later became famous for his interpretation of dreams and a book on this subject has been wrongly attributed to him in *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim. Earlier authoritative works like the *Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd did not mention any such work by Ibn Seereen on the interpretation of dreams. He died in 110 A.H. (728 C.E.).

The role of a tribal chief in Iraq

Simultaneously with this religious movement in Iraq one could notice a continuation of the *Jahiliyyah* (pre-Islamic period) life slightly tinged with the Islamic colour. The tribes which had settled down in Basrah and Kufah retained the same system of organization which they had during the *Jahiliyyah*. They owed unqualified allegiance to the tribal chief who wielded great influence and authority. His word was law both in times of peace and in war. Round him gathered a band of poets, each trying to outwit the other in his praises of the chief and in painting his enemies in the blackest possible hues. These tribal chiefs placed a high premium on the *Jahiliyyah* virtues of chivalry, pride and generosity. Of such kind were Qays, chief of Basrah's (tribe of) the Tamin, al-Hakam Ibn al-Mundhir Ibn al-Jarud, chief of Basrah's 'Abd al-Qays, Muhammad Ibn 'Uman Ibn 'Utairid Ibn Hajib, Ibn Hajib Ibn Zurarah, chief of the Tamim of Kufah, Hasan Ibn al-Mundhir, the Dhabbah of Kufah, Hijr Ibn 'Adiyy and Muhammad Ibn al-Ash'ath, chiefs of the Kinda Kufah; and others. These chiefs became a centre of literary life, for they were the patrons to whose little courts were attracted the poets, on whom they conferred honours and awards in proportion to the lavishness of their praise. We will do well to describe briefly the life of a representative chief in this era so that the reader could form some idea of their influence on contemporary life. Let us examine the life of al-Ahnaf Ibn Qays. He was the chief of the tribe of the Tamin of Basrah. Of him it was said that when he was enraged 100,000 men rose up in arms

without knowing the reason for the rage of their chief! The tribe of the Banu Tamim owed unswerving allegiance to him and went to war at his bidding. Mu'awiyah was fully aware of the influence wielded by him and, therefore, gave him all the respect due to his station. He issued orders to his prefects to show all courtesies to Ibn Qays and there have been occasions when prefects failing to pull on properly with the tribal chief were dismissed by the Caliph. So great was his influence that even the Caliph himself had to swallow discourtesies offered to him by the tribal chief.

Mu'awiyah is supposed to have told Ibn Qays one day: "O Ahnaf! by God, every time I think of the battle of Siffin (657 C.E.) my heart starts aching!" (al-Ahnaf at this time was in the ranks of 'Ali). Ahnaf answered, "By God, O Mu'awiyah, the hearts with which we hated you are still in our chests and the swords with which we fought you are still in our sheaths. If war advances towards us by a span we move forward towards it by a hand-span! If it approaches us walking we advance towards it running." Al-Ahnaf was a strong man but his strength was not directed entirely towards fighting, for he had to his credit many acts of mediation between hostile tribes in Basrah where he exercised his influence in composing differences between different tribes. He was looked upon as a *beau-ideal* of a hero who was the repository of all the qualities of a great Arab chief. At his death it was said the essence of Arab life had passed away. Books of literature are full of proverbs and sayings of al-Ahnaf. We quote a few for example:

- (1) The pleasure which results in sorrow is not worth having.
- (2) He who forsakes worldly pleasures does not become poor.
- (3) Judge yourself before you are judged by others.

SYRIA

The birthplace of many prophets, Syria had been the cradle of a number of ancient civilizations. It had seen the Phoenicians, the Chaldaeans, the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans. Its people had learnt from these nations and had in turn much to teach them. Some Syrian cities became famous as centres of culture and learning. Sir, Antioch, Saida, Beirut, Damascus and Hims are familiar names. It was in these schools that Syria learnt the written alphabet from the Phoenicians, theological ideas from the Hebrews, philosophical thoughts from the Greeks and the judicial system from the Romans. All this learning moulded the personality of Syria, which was later to play a leading role in influencing the growth of Muslim culture.

The early Arabs knew Syria, a fertile and rich land which provoked the caprice of many a foreign conqueror. Early in the second century B.C. the Arabs had established States like Hims and Petra in Syria. In the fifth century C.E. they established the Ameerate of the Ghassanites. The conquering Arabs embraced Christianity and spoke a language which was a mixture of Arabic and Aramaic. They owed no allegiance to Arabia and considered themselves part and parcel of Syria. With the Muslim conquest the Quraysh dialect of Arabic came to be accepted as the standard language, although Aramaic and Greek continued alongside with Arabic, and Islam gradually replaced Christianity and Judaism.

MALIK, ABU DARDA AND 'UBADAH

The first teachers of Islam in Syria were Malik, 'Ubadah and Abu Darda, who were sent there at the request of Yazid

Ibn Abu Sufyan by 'Umar to teach the Qur'ān and the *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) to the people of Syria. We have had occasion to talk of Malik in our study of the Meccan school. He spent the last years of his life in teaching the Qur'ān to the people of Syria. 'Ubadah Ibn al-Samit was one of the *Ansar* (lit. helpers — the people of Medina who helped the Prophet Muhammad) and was one of those who collected the Qur'ān. Abu 'Ubaydah al-Jarrah, 'Umar's viceroy in Syria, appointed him Governor of Hims and Chief Justice of Palestine. He was one of the most learned men in religion and had a reputation for unimpeachable integrity in his dispensation of justice. He was a man of convictions and condemned many acts of Mu'awiyah while he was Uthman's viceroy in Syria. 'Ubadah died in Syria.

Abu Darda was also of the *Ansar*. He was one of the most learned and cultured Companions of the Prophet. He was the Qadhi of Damascus, where he died. These three teachers came to Syria to spread the teachings of Islam. 'Ubadah took charge of Hims, Abu Darda went to Damascus and Malik was assigned Palestine, where 'Ubadah came later to continue the good work of his friend. These scholars were responsible for educating a generation which created eminents like Abu Idris al-Khawlani, Makhul al-Dimashqi, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz and Raja Ibn Hayawan. The Imam of the Syrians, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Awza'i, who is considered as great as the Imam Malik and Abu Hanifah, was also a product of these schools. His creed spread in al-Maghrib (North Africa) and Spain but was later ousted by the Shafi'i and Maliki creeds.

Damascus was the seat of the Umayyad Caliphate. Although the Umayyads, with a few honourable exceptions, did nothing positive to encourage cultural movements, Damascus became the centre of religious activity by virtue of its being the capital of the empire. While the rulers patronized poetry and public speaking to further their political ends, religion received the patronage of the people, whose thirst for knowledge produced some eminent scholars. Side by side with Muslims in Syria lived Christians who had retained their religion. A comparison between the two religions became inevitable in this context. An endless debate went on between the votaries of Islam and Christianity about the merits of their dogmas. Controversies cropped up about the significance of fate, destiny, determinism and free will. The qualities of God were freely discussed and the seeming contradictions were sought to be resolved. This was the beginning of the science of logic (*al-Kalam*) in Islam.

EGYPT

The introduction of Islam in Egypt

At the time of the Muslim conquest, Egypt was under the sway of the Greek and Roman cultures. We have briefly discussed the Alexandrian school elsewhere and need not, therefore, go into details here. The Nile Valley is proverbially fertile and it is not surprising to find Arabs flocking to it after the Muslim conquest. They settled down in al-Fustat (Cairo) and other towns according to their tribal affiliations and engaged themselves in cultivation. Many Copts of Egypt embraced Islam. Inter-marriages between the Arabs and the Egyptians were frequent. Owing to its established importance Egypt became a centre of both political and cultural activity from the beginning of the Muslim rule. The cultural activity was, however, largely confined to the study of religion and the allied fields. With the conquest of Islam, the place of precedence naturally went to the new creed, but the ancient cultures of Greece and Rome which had influenced Egypt, Syria and Iraq for

centuries did not disappear from the scene. They were taken by surprise by the sudden change and had to submit to the new movement. When the shock of a sudden change was over and things appeared to settle down to a calm reconsideration of values, the old cultures emerged with a redoubled vigour in a new garb. They now spoke in the language and accents of Islam but essentially retained their old character. The new personality of these cultures was however not clearly discernible in its influence and strength till the last days of the Umayyads and the early days of the Abbasides.

IBN 'AMR AL-'AAS

As in the case of Iraq and Syria, the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad came to settle down in Egypt, where they founded schools in which the Qur'ān and the Hadith were taught. The most famous of these scholars was 'Abdullah Ibn 'Amr al-'Aas — one of the most learned and accurate traditionists of his time. He used to write down whatever he heard from the Prophet and his Companions. Mujahid relates that he saw a book of Ibn 'Amr. Asked about the nature of the book Ibn 'Amr told Mujahid that whatever he had heard from the Prophet was written in it, "without any one being between us".⁷ 'Abdullah was a versatile man and besides his profound knowledge of Islam he was conversant with the Torah and knew the Syriac language. He went to Egypt with his father, 'Amr Ibn al-'Aas, who was Viceroy of Egypt under Mu'awiyah. Before his death 'Amr appointed his son 'Abdullah Viceroy of Egypt. This nomination was approved by Mu'awiyah, who, however, decided later to dismiss 'Abdullah. Even after his dismissal from office 'Abdullah continued to stay in Egypt, where he died. He is rightly considered the father of the Egyptian school of thought in Islam. He was held in high esteem for the contribution he made in introducing Islam to Egypt.

YAZID IBN ABU HABIB

Among those who followed 'Abdullah, Yazid Ibn Abu Habib, a Negro who had settled down in Egypt, was the most famous of the band of scholars who devoted themselves to a study of Islam. According to al-Kindi, Yazid was the first to lecture on the laws and jurisprudence of Islam in Egypt. He was a member of the official panel of judges nominated by the Caliph 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. He was widely read and is in fact one of the main authorities on whom al-Kindi has depended for his book on the prefects and judges of Egypt.

Among the leading students of Yazid could be mentioned 'Abdullah Ibn Luhay'ah and al-Layth Ibn Sa'd. 'Abdullah was an Arab from Hahdramaut. He had seen and learnt at the feet of many *Tabi'is*.⁸ Many traditionists like al-Bukhari and al-Nisa'i do not, however, depend upon the traditions passed down by him. It is a pity that the history of Egypt, a subject on which 'Abdullah was the major authority, was taken up after him. He was a judge for about nine years. The other student of Yazid, al-Layth, was a Persian. He undertook extensive travels to pursue his studies — Mecca, Jerusalem and Baghdad were some of the places he visited. He was in touch with the Imam Malik in Medina and exchanged many letters with him on important subjects of jurisprudence. We are told that al-Shafi'i held the opinion that Zayd was more well-versed in jurisprudence than Malik, but his followers did not give him the same help as fell to the lot of the Imam Malik. Nevertheless in his own day he enjoyed a very high position by virtue of being the founder of a school known after his name. The

Egyptians adhered to his school of thought in jurisprudence but the school founded by al-Laith in Egypt met the same fate as the school of Awza'i in Syria. Both disappeared with the appearance of better and more vigorous schools of thought.

The pattern of the cultural movement is by now clear. Each conquest was followed up by the flow of the Companions to those countries. Among these Companions were men of different talents and varying cultural attainments. Some of them were outstanding men of learning and founded schools to spread the teachings of Islam. They exercised great influence on the intelligentsia of the countries in which they settled down to teach. Such an influence was exercised by 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar in Medina, 'Abdullah Ibn Mas'ud in Kufah, 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbas in Mecca and 'Abdullah Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-'Aas in Egypt. All the Companions who left Medina to settle down in the countries coming in the fold of Islam did not naturally command complete knowledge of their religion in all its manifold aspects. Nor did they advance any such claim. The need was, however, felt for more knowledge, and it was not infrequent that a scholar from Egypt went to Medina, a man from Medina went to Kufah and a student from Kufah went to Syria and so on. The interchange of culture between different countries tended to create a common culture shared by Muslim all over the empire.

What was taught in the various schools we have discussed? What was the syllabus of studies? Did any particular country influence the cultural movement in a particular way? Was the cultural pattern evolved in Syria and Egypt influenced by the preceding civilization of Rome? What was the extent of the Persian influences in Iraq? Was the Hijaz affected by the primitiveness and simplicity of the Arab life before Islam? Did the religious beliefs of these countries before Islam have a substantial bearing on the manner in which the new faith was accepted and interpreted by them? Did the pre-Islamic beliefs influence in any tangible shape or form the new schools of thought which subsequently developed in the Hijaz, Iraq, Syria and Egypt? These are indeed difficult questions, but we will make an effort to find an answer in other essays to be published in *The Islamic Review*.

REFERENCES

- 2 A land measure.
- 3 Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, p. 276, European edition.
- 4 Non-Arabs who had embraced Islam and affiliated themselves with an Arab tribe.
- 5 *Al-Tabaqat*, Vol. 7, pp. 118-119.
- 6 Further details about the two personalities may be seen in *al-Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd, Vol. 7, p. 142.
- 7 Ibn Sa'd in *al-Tabaqat*, Vol. 7, p. 189.
- 8 Literally: the followers, meaning thereby the generation that had seen the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad.

THE WORD OF A DONKEY

A neighbour asked Goha¹ to lend him his donkey as the man had to go on a sudden trip. Goha, who had no great confidence in the man's integrity, replied, "I would willingly lend it to you, but alas, yesterday I sold it."

Just then the donkey — which was at the rear of the house — began to bray. The man said, "But your donkey is here."

Goha replied angrily, "If you would take the word of an ass instead of that of a wise man, you are a fool, and I do not wish to see you ever again."

1 Goha, a fictitious character in the Turkish and Arabic humorous literatures.

Lord Rowallan, the former Chief Scout, on the Consumption of Intoxicants

"As a lifelong abstainer myself, I fully endorse what the founder of Scouting said about the use of alcohol by Scouts. It is not only foolish, but unpatriotic in the highest

degree to risk hampering the full development of mind, body and spirit just because a boy has not the strength of mind to say 'No'. My advice, too, is cut it out."

PRAYER IN ISLAM

By MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN

(Former Imam, The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England)

1. The Significance of Prayer
2. The Main Prayer—Fatiha

3. The Prescribed Prayer
4. Special Prayers

Illustrated

Price 2/6

Postage 3d.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

The Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust

Lectures

Mr. S. Muhammad Tufail, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, was invited to speak by the following clubs and societies:

Friday, 10th June, 1960: The Rotary Club, The Royal Star Hotel, High Street, Maidstone. Subject: Bridging the gulf between Islam and Christianity.

Monday, 13th June, 1960: Sanctuary of St. Francis of Assisi, 21 St. Peter's Road, St. Margaret's, East Twickenham, Middlesex (arranged by Mr. Arthur H. King). Subject: Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.

Thursday, 23rd June, 1960: Spiritualist Church at Woking (arranged by Mr. H. Fowler). Subject: The Meaning of Spiritual Life in Islam.

Tuesday, 19th July, 1960: The Rotary Club, Chatham, Kent. Subject: Bridging the Gulf between Islam and Christianity.

originated in fear, it was an escape from life, it made people indolent and lazy, etc. "Worship to a Muslim," said the speaker, "is a moral and spiritual discipline where patience, steadfastness, submission, humility, regularity and cleanliness are most essential, before he can enjoy the fruits and blessings of prayer." The Imam's complete speech and the addresses of other speakers will be published in the September issue of the *Forum*, the quarterly journal of the World Congress of Faiths, Younghusband House, 23 Norfolk Square, London, W.2 (price 2 shillings).

Dr. L. A. Garrard, M.A., B.D., Principal of the Manchester College, Oxford, gave a summing-up of the Annual Conference, during which he said:

"It is a part of the strength of Islam that it always insisted on regular times and forms of worship: According to the Qur'an man was created for worship and



A group of non-Muslim British friends who visited the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, to get a first-hand knowledge of Islam. The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Mr. S. M. Tufail (first row, first from left), gave a talk on Islam. Our picture shows the party standing on the steps of the Shah Jehan Mosque.

Conference at Oxford

The Annual Conference of the World Congress of Faiths was held at Manchester College at Oxford from 15th July to 17th July, 1960. The theme of the Conference was "The Significance of Worship". Hindu, Buddhist, Jew, Christian and Muslim speakers were invited to represent their points of view. The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque spoke on the Islamic conception of worship on Saturday morning with Dr. E. G. Parrinder, Reader in the Comparative Study of Religion at King's College, London, in the chair. He dealt briefly with all the important objections which are raised against the institution or worship and prayer such as that worship was not a fundamental reality of life, it was a pursuit of one's own phantoms, it

the subjective side is of relatively minor importance. This places the Muslim at the other extreme from the Buddhist, to whom the value of prayer is simply as auto-suggestion, and strictly speaking no prayer is possible. To the Muslim it matters supremely that there is someone who hears our prayer. But the subjective side is not wholly unimportant, since worship is genuine only when there is the right inner attitude. It must also be accompanied by the appropriate action. A man cannot be both sinner and saint, and such stories as that of David's adultery must be due to corruption of the original narrative. This extreme moral austerity seems questionable. In other religious traditions great sinners have repented to become great saints.

"A somewhat similiar austerity was revealed by the Swami when he quoted with approval the cry of a great religious spirit (Rabi'ah of Basrah, Muslim woman mystic of the 8th century.—Ed., *I.R.*) which goes to the effect: 'O Lord if I worship Thee for fear of hell then burn me in hell, and if I worship Thee for the hope of paradise then exclude me from paradise.' But is there not here a touch of spiritual pride?"

The Qur'an considers all prophets to be sinless, therefore, any story in the Bible derogatory to the character has either been completely omitted in the Qur'an or has been rejected. A man cannot be a prophet and a sinner at the same time. Sinners may become saints but the point about David was different. The whole confusion on this point arises in the minds of people because sometimes they do not distinguish the role of a prophet from that of a saint. Moreover, in the Bible the word prophet has been used rather in a loose manner. According to the Qur'an prophet-hood is a gift and not an acquisition and on whomsoever this gift is bestowed that person comes under the Divine protection from the very beginning. Thus spiritual and moral purification is a natural condition in a prophet although such purification could be acquired by others by following the prophet. Again the prayer of Rabi'ah is not in any way the result of the spiritual pride. When in Islam worship (*'ibadah* — adoring and obeying of God with

humility and submissiveness) is the very object of Man's creation it is in the fitness of things that one should try to raise oneself to that level when service of God becomes for the sake of God alone, i.e., detached from all hopes and fears.

New members of the Brotherhood of Islam

The following persons entered the fold of Islam:

Miss Maria Gabriele Hahn (German), Mr. Khalid Saifullah Bruin (Dutch), Carmelina Shireen Bano Alikhan (Italian) and Mr. Sunil Kumar Bhattacharya (Salim) (Indian).

Marriages

Marriages between the following persons were solemnized by the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking.

Mr. Dilnawaz Khan (Pakistani) and Miss Helga Ostertag (German). *Address*: 1 Stanwick Road, London, W.14.

Mr. Ashfaq Ahmad Khan Sherwani (Pakistani) and Miss Margaret Lesley Bullock (British). *Address*: 82 Lichfield Street, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, England.

Burials at Brookwood Cemetery

Hassan Hamid (Turkish Cypriot) s/o Hamid Hassan, of 19 Bath House, Bath Terrace, London, S.E.1, on 9th February 1960 (Grave No. 219321). Mrs. Sa'eed Mohammadi on 5th March 1960.

Book Reviews

PAN-TURKISM AND ISLAM IN RUSSIA, by Serge A. Zenkovsky. Published by Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press, April 1960. Price: 54/- net.

This book is the first comprehensive political and cultural history of the major Turkic groups of Russia, which together exceed twenty million in population and form the second largest linguistic unit in the Soviet Union. Professor Zenkovsky traces their history from its beginnings up to the 1920's, emphasizing the transitory period in the early twentieth century when secular political ideas began to dislodge traditional Islamic patterns of thought and social behaviour.

The author studies the inception of the nationalist ideas among these Muslim peoples which accompanied the disintegration of their original cultural unity. He describes the separate developments of the various Turkic groups, the rise of Tartar political and cultural influence among them and the subsequent growth of Kazakh, Uzbek, Azerbaijani and Bashkir nationalism. The effects of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917 and the ensuing civil war on the national orientation of these peoples are examined in the light of religious, cultural and political developments.

This investigation incorporates much previously unused source material, such as the Proceedings of the Moslem Congresses of 1906 and 1917, digests of the Turkic Press in Russia, and certain Turkic *émigré* periodicals.

Serge A. Zenkovsky is Associate Professor of History and Political Science and Director of Russian and Asian Studies at Stetson University.

PAKISTAN, ONE AND INDIVISIBLE, by Fazlur Rahman. Published by Pakistan Educational Publishers Ltd.,

Karachi, 1960. Price abroad 10/6; popular edition 6/6.

The role of ideology in welding the people of Pakistan into one united and indivisible nation can never be gainsaid.

This is the central theme of some of Mr. Fazlur Rahman's speeches which are as refreshing today as when they were first delivered. In these speeches, Mr. Fazlur Rahman has tried to catch in words the pristine version of Pakistan, and expound the ideals that inspired that vision.

Not by establishing a federation of two units, but by integrating the whole of Pakistan into one unit could the sense of Pakistani nationhood be strengthened and a national outlook and approach be brought to bear on the country's various problems.

"Treat this country as one; have one government and one parliament; and try to solve every problem on a national basis, rather than on the basis of provinces," he had appealed to the members of the Constituent Assembly discussing the Draft Constitution in January 1956.

In advocating this he, however, did not altogether ignore the formidable yet immutable factor of geography, and the not so immutable factors of the socio-economic patterns of life in the different regions of Pakistan. Formidable though they may seem, immutable that the factor of geography is, he was sure that an over-riding basic loyalty to a transcendent ideology, as the ideology of Islam is, could yet help surmount them, and weld the people in the different regions — different though they are in their racial stocks, dress, diet and even language — into one compact and united nation; a nation with a common tradition of loyalties, emotions, discipline.

DAUGHTERS OF ALLAH, by Henny Harald Hansen. Translated from the Danish by Reginald Spink. Published in 1960 by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London.

In 1957 the author was invited to take part in an archaeological expedition to the site of the projected Dokan Dam on the Little Zab river in Northern Iraq. Her responsibilities were ethnological, but instead of settling down with the expedition and visiting the Kurdish villages from the camp, she became the guest first of a local sheikh and later of her interpreter's family. As a result the doors of many Kurdish homes were opened to her that normally would have remained closed to foreigners, especially as a non-Muslim woman. She travelled widely among the mountain villages of Iraqi Kurdistan and was able to see from very close range the everyday life of the women of this strange and ancient race. It is very much a woman's view, of course, but few have had such an opportunity as this to penetrate the invisible wall which in a Muslim community divides the female world from the male.

The Kurds have inhabited since antiquity roughly the same region as they occupy today; even in 400 B.C. returning from Babylon, Xenophon and his Greeks had to battle with the Kurdish ancestors. They have been subject to frequently changing foreign rule and today their land lies within the frontiers of Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Iran and the U.S.S.R. Recent unrest among the tribes and the news of bands of Kurdish refugees on the move has centred interest on a people of whom the public knows little, but of whom Henny Hansen has much to tell that is intimate and fascinating.

* * *

REVELATION AND REASON IN ISLAM, by A. J. Arberry (George Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.).

PROPHECY IN ISLAM, by F. Rahman (George Allen & Unwin, 15s.).

The above two books deal with the subjects which have occupied the attention of the Muslim mind for the last few centuries and about which little has been written so far in English. These books, however, should be read as an introduction, or a study in a few aspects of the old but ever fresh and fascinating problems of reason, revelation and prophecy in Islam.

Professor A. J. Arberry's book is of great value because it takes into account "a number of important texts which have only recently become available". As the problem has never yet, in the sight of the author, been correctly stated, "therefore it is obviously vain to look for anything approaching a satisfactory solution, assuming that a satisfactory solution is in any case discoverable". This is indeed a warning to the reader who might take this book up in the hope of getting an answer to the many problems which might be troubling his mind on the subject of reason and revelation in Islam. It has been further stated that "the true nature of the conflict or concord between reason and revelation will not be seized by those who confine their curiosity to its manifestation in Christianity alone, or in Judaism alone, or in Islam alone. Each system of beliefs resting upon faith in a Divine revelation introduces its own distinctive set of variations; all these variations need to be studied if the theme itself is to be appreciated in all its fecund richness."

The name of the book would suggest that an elaborate attempt has been made to state the whole case in the light of the Qur'an — the scripture of Islam (and this would not have been difficult for a person who has already beautifully rendered the Qur'an into English) — but after quoting a few verses of the Qur'an the author directly proceeds to

state the "acrimonious quarrels" between the early theologians of Islam. The controversies among the Mu'tazalites and Ash'arites have been discussed in detail which has taken a greater part of the book — a ground which has already been covered by J. W. Sweetman, Louis Gardet and M. M. Anawati. The views of Muslim thinkers such as al-Farabi, Avicenna, al-Ghazali, Ibn Tufail and Averroes will, however, be found in a condensed form for reference.

It has been mentioned on page 28 that the early Muslim mystics, from the end of the 8th century onwards, began to talk boldly of conversing with God and of God speaking to men. The writer thinks that it may be due to Christian influence that an increasing notice was taken of these passages in the Qur'an, for instance:

"And when My servants question thee concerning Me — I am near to answer the call of the caller, when he calls to Me; so let them respond to me" (2: 182).

The reason why God's speaking to men was not so much emphasized in the early days of Islam was that that age being very near to the age of the Prophet, the prophetic experience of Divine communication was not generally doubted, but as the distance grew, the institution of revelation and prophecy was questioned, hence the need of emphasis by Muslim mystics on God's communicating with men.

The last chapter in *Revelation and Reason in Islam* has been largely devoted to the famous Muslim mystic Abu Yazid of Bistam, about whom so little is known to the Western world, and for that matter to the world of Islam. A few anecdotes with a deep human touch have been mentioned about him. His "fantastic" sayings such as: "Abu Yazid, all of them are My (i.e., God's) creatures except thee," "I am not I I I because I am He I am He I am He He," "There is no truth but I am it," are utterances in ecstatic rapture which only place him in the category of those mystics who are permitted to "remain within the confines of their own personality". Their rank is, however, inferior to those who are the appointed ones of God (*ma'mur*) for the reformation of men in their own age such as al-Ghazali in the 5th century and Mujaddid Alf Thani of Sirhind (India) in the 10th century A.H.

Prophecy in Islam has been described as the "first book devoted to a critical and historical treatment of the Muslim philosophers' doctrine of prophecy and revelation and its relation to Islamic 'orthodoxy'". The work seeks not only to give the historical sources of the philosophers' teaching... but equally to point out how far the philosophers succeeded in their attempt to integrate the Semitic and Muslim conception of Revelation with Greek Wisdom". This small book is indeed written by a learned writer for learned readers. It consists of a hundred pages out of which forty are devoted to extensive notes. The book deals mainly with the Muslim philosophers' doctrine of intellect and prophecy, in which particular notice has been taken of al-Farabi and Avicenna and their treatment of the subject. An attempt has been made to show that the Greek conception of the philosopher-king has been in many respects responsible for the Muslim philosophers' conception of prophet-philosopher, although the writer admits that in framing such an image the philosophers acted from a "genuine and sincere motive and were not artificially trying to engraft Greek doctrines on Islam". The last part of the book briefly points out the reaction of the orthodoxy towards the Muslim philosophers' doctrine of prophecy and sheds light on the fate of the "Hellenization movement in Islam".

I wish the author had also devoted some space to the discussion of the Qur'anic point of view on these problems, so that it might have become clear how far his conclusions were correct that Muslim philosophers' conception of prophecy had its course in the Greek ideas.

On page 104 it has been attributed to Ibn Taimiya that he accused Ibn 'Arabi of saying that "saints are better than prophets". This allegation seems to be untrue when we compare Ibn 'Arabi's other sayings on the subject. He regarded the station of prophethood as being so high that it was, he said, "beyond our reach" (*al-Yawāqit* II, p. 72). If the quotation by Ibn Taimiya is correct, then most probably he meant by prophets ordinary prophets or dreamers. This is, however, acknowledged by many Muslim mystics that sainthood (*wilāyah*) in a prophet is superior to his *nubuwwat* (prophethood), but that is entirely a different thing from saying that saints are better than prophets.

On the same page the distinction which Ibn Taimiya, like many other Muslim theologians, has made between the

function of a prophet and *rasul* (messenger) does not find the least evidence in the Qur'an.

The following remarks by Ibn Khaldūn, quoted at the end of chapter three, would be read with interest, which I think sums up a Muslim's attitude towards some of the yogic and occult practices:

"It is obvious that on the same grounds Ibn Khaldūn would reject as fakes the experiments of modern students of religious psychology by the introduction of drugs and hypnosis. Indeed he also condemns the practices of certain yogis who seek to contact the Unseen by mortification of the physical faculties. Apart from the fact that no adequate knowledge of the Unseen can be gained in this manner, he finds their aims morally indictable. One's aim should be devotion to God and not the gaining of occult knowledge; Islamic orthodoxy had, of course, always regarded these procedures of obtaining knowledge as highly dubious and mostly even outright condemnable."

What our Readers say...

ARAB PROPAGANDA IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

422-A Alimullah Road, Lower Pazundaung,
Rangoon, Burma.

The Editor.

16th June 1960.

Dear Sir,

Moved by your editorial entitled "The Weapon of Propaganda" in *The Islamic Review* for January 1960, I write this for the information of your readers.

The situation you described fits in perfectly with our own here in regard to the tactlessness and inefficiency of Arab diplomats. As an active member of the Save Palestine Front, Burma, I had the opportunity to study some Arab officials (only U.A.R. among Arab countries is represented here, though we want other Arab countries to open missions), and I agree with your factual Editor that we Muslims do not properly understand the weapon of propaganda.

Preaching to the converted and "we don't care" attitude towards the possible converts is the way the Arab Embassies work everywhere.

I may point out with a heavy heart that an ex-Egyptian envoy told a delegation of strongly pro-Arab Burmese Muslim youths that he cared not a fig for their support because they were known to be supporters of Pakistan over Kashmir and of Turkey over Cyprus and therefore are pro-imperialists.

In spite of our never-tiring efforts in support of the Arab causes (though Arab circles are perhaps not well acquainted with our activities) we find great difficulty in inviting Egyptian diplomats to deliver lectures in mosques.

I understand that the Translation Services of the Muslim Burma Publications, run by a group of spirited but economically weak youths, has all along been supplying the Egyptian Legation (now U.A.R. Embassy) with translations from local newspapers and other useful material all free of charge (others have to pay for them), but up till now not one U.A.R. official has understood Burmese affairs properly and in their propaganda they are "downright inefficient and misguided in their tactics".

Small wonder then that in spite of the fact that our country and the U.A.R. have a similar foreign policy, Israel has been able to strengthen her economic, cultural and

political relations with Burma to a very large extent. The Israeli diplomats and experts fully utilize the ineffectiveness and tactlessness of the U.A.R. diplomats and maintain very good contacts for their own country.

Our Egyptian brothers seldom take the initiative to contact even the strongly pro-Arab Burmese Muslim elements, leave alone maintaining good relations with officials, politicians, merchants, etc.

Recently the U.A.R. Embassy celebrated the "Palestine Day" with a press conference, and it brought about a Burma-U.A.R. controversy over the black-listing of Burma's Five Star Line ships, while the Palestine refugee issue totally disappeared.

This writing is not meant for publicity here in Burma, but I want to bring it before the international Muslim intelligentsia and, especially, before the Arab circles.

Yours in Islam,

MAUNG AUNG NYUNT.

MUSLIMS IN JAPAN

12 Takeya-cho, Azabu, Minato-ku,
Tokyo, Japan.

28th June 1960.

Dear Sir,

In Japan there are hundreds of Japanese Muslims. Most of them are beginners. They have embraced Islam through books, that is, through the recognition that Islam is the best religion in the world. Among the Japanese Muslims there are also Muslims who accepted Islam while they were abroad impressed by the worship and practical side of Islam in Muslim countries. Of late Muslim brothers in groups have come to Japan from Pakistan fourtimes and have guided our Japanese novices.

We owe very much to them. Also the Embassy of the United Arab Republic in Japan is very enthusiastic to lead and enlighten the Japanese Muslims. I should like to know how many English, Irish and Scottish Muslims there are in Great Britain. Are they intimidated by the Christians to declare Islam? Please inform me of the present state and circumstances and affairs of English Muslims of today.

Yours sincerely,

'ABDULLA VEMURA.

List of Books on Islam and Allied Subjects

Customers are advised not to order books by Air Mail. Air Mail Postage is expensive. It costs approximately 16/- per lb.

The Holy Qur'an

- The Holy Qur'an with Arabic text, Translation and Commentary, by *Maulana Muhammad 'Ali*. LXX+1256 pp.
 Leather bound — 1st Quality 3 0 0
 Cloth bound — 2nd Quality 2 0 0
 The Holy Qur'an. Arabic text, 848 pp. 1 0 0
 The Holy Qur'an. Arabic text. Pocket size. 606 pp. 3½ in. x 2½ in. 8 0
 The Holy Qur'an on one page. In beautiful decorative script and design, with magnifying glass. Post free
 The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an. English translation by Marmaduke Pickthall, an English Muslim scholar.
 American Edition 6 0
 English Edition. 691 pp. 1 10 0
 The Koran Interpreted, by A. J. Arberry. Translation in English with an attempt to give an idea of the rhythm contained in the Qur'an. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth
 Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qur'an by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. 141 pp. 5 0
 Introduction to the Qur'an, by R. Bell. 8vo., X+190 pp. 18 0
 The Religion of the Koran, by A. N. Wallaston. Reprint. 8vo., 88 pp. 6 0
 The Triumph of the Holy Qur'an, by Maulana Sadr-ud-Din. 213 pp., post free 8 0

Hadith, Fiqh, Jurisprudence, etc.

- Sayings of Muhammad, by Allama Sir Abdullah al-Mamun al-Suhrawardy. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi 6 0
 Sahih of al-Bukhari. English translation of only 4 books, by Aftab ud-Din Ahmad. 244 pp. 12 6
 Outlines of Muhammadan Law, by A. A. A. Fyzee. 2nd ed. 445 pp. 1 8 0
 Ijma' and the Gate of Ijtihad, by K. A. Faruki. 8vo. iv+42 pp. 6 0
 Islamic Constitution, by K. A. Faruki. An exposition of the Islamic Constitutional conditions necessary for the development of Islamic ideals. 8vo. xiii+278 pp. 3 3 0
 Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, by J. Schacht 1 10 0

The Prophet Muhammad

- The Ideal Prophet, by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. Demy 8vo, 274 pp. 5 0
 Living Thoughts of the Prophet Muhammad, by Muhammad Ali. Cr. 8vo, 142 pp. 5 0
 Life of Muhammad, by F. R. Hakeem. Cr. 8vo, 48 pp. 1 2
 Heroes and Hero-Worship, by Thomas Carlyle. Contains a beautiful article on the Prophet Muhammad 7 0
 In the Footsteps of the Prophet, by Rafiq M. Khan. 137 pp. 4 6
 Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad, by Dr. M. Hamidullah. 48 pp. 3 0
 The Life of Muhammad. A translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah with introduction and notes by A. Guillaume. 1956. xlvii+813 pp. 3 3 0
 Muhammad at Mecca, by W. M. Watt. xvi+192 pp.... 18 0

Muslim History

- Islam in Ethiopia, by J. S. Trimmingham. Study of the History and Institutions of Islam in Ethiopia. 8vo, xv+299 pp., with 6 maps 1 5 0
 Prices subject to change

- | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|--|---|----|----|
| | | | The Legacy of Persia, by A. J. Arberry. It contains thirteen valuable contributions on Persian Art and Culture by well-known Western scholars. Cr. 8vo, xvi+421 pp., with 53 plates and index 1 0 0 | | | |
| | | | Outlines of Islamic Culture, by A. M. A. Shustery. The book not only brings out the main features of Islamic culture, but elucidates what is common to it and other cultures. 2 vol. Demy 8vo, xxiv+340, and viii+341-796, vi (index); xv chapters, 43 illustrations and appendices 1 10 0 | | | |
| | | | A Short History of the Saracens, by Ameer Ali. With maps, illustrations and genealogical tables. 640 pp. 17 0 | | | |
| | | | The Legacy of Islam, edited by Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume. 432 pp. with 42 plates 1 1 0 | | | |
| | | | The Arabs: A Short History, by P. K. Hitti. 236 pp. 10 6 | | | |
| | | | History of the Arabs, by P. K. Hitti. 822 pp. 2 5 0 | | | |
| | | | History of the Islamic Peoples, by Carl Brockelmann. 566 pp. 1 5 0 | | | |
| | | | Support of the Faith, by Mir Hashmat Ali. 76 pp. ... 4 6 | | | |
| | | | Islam's Contribution to the Peace of the World, by S. A. Haque. 52 pp. 1 3 | | | |
| | | | Mysteries of Selflessness. A Philosophical Poem by the late Dr. S. M. Iqbal. Translated with Notes by Professor A. J. Arberry 6 0 | | | |
| | | | The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes. Translated from Arabic by Professor A. J. Arberry 6 0 | | | |
| | | | Faith and Practice of al-Ghazzali, by M. W. Watt. 8vo, 155 pp. 9 6 | | | |
| | | | Muhammadan Festivals, by G. E. von Grunebaum. 8vo, viii+107 pp. 1 1 0 | | | |
| | | | Social Justice in Islam, by S. Kotb. Deals with contemporary Islamic thought in relation to social justice and its position <i>vis-à-vis</i> the non-Islamic world. 8vo, 298 pp. 1 6 0 | | | |
| | | | Cloth 1 14 0 | | | |

General Books

- | |
|---|
| Iqbal, his Art and Thought, by S. A. Vahid 1 10 6 |
| A New World, by W. B. Bashyr Pickard. Cr. 8vo, 171 pp. 5 0 |
| The Road to Mecca, by Muhammad Asad. The author's story of his discovery and acceptance of Islam. 8vo, xiii+381 pp., with end paper maps and 12 plates ... 1 1 0 |
| Falcon of Spain, by Thomas Ballantyne Irving. 158 pp. 12 0 |
| Alf Laila wa Laila, by A. J. Arberry. Tales from the Thousand and One Nights. 8vo, 222 pp., with 6 illus. Cloth 15 0 |
| Islam in Africa and the Near East, by S. M. Ahmed. Cr. 8vo, 307 pp. 12 0 |
| Islam in India and the Middle East, by S. M. Ahmed. Cr. 8vo, 265 pp., with frontispiece 12 0 |
| The Spirit of Islam, by Ameer Ali. History of the Evolution and Ideals of Islam with the life of the Prophet. 6th imp., 8vo, 71+513 pp., with frontispiece 1 10 0 |
| Bridge to Islam, by E. W. Bethmann. Study of the religious forces of Islam and Christianity in the Near East. 8vo, 240 pp. 15 0 |
| Studies in Muslim Ethics, by D. M. Donaldson. History of the Muslim ethical system with quotations from principal Arabic and Persian writers. 8vo, xi+304 pp. 1 7 6 |
| Islam in East Africa, by L. P. Harris. 8vo, 96 pp. 5 0 |
| An Arab Philosophy of History. Selections from the prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332-1406 C.E.). Translated and arranged by Charles Issawi ... 7 6 |
| Mohammedanism, by H. A. R. Gibb. 206 pp. 6 0 |
| Golden Deeds of Islam, by M. Yakub Khan. Cr. 8vo, 132 pp. 5 0 |

Postage and Packing Extra

CAN BE OBTAINED FROM :

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England

also from **AZEEZ MANZIL, BRANDRETH ROAD, LAHORE, WEST PAKISTAN**

List of Books on Islam and Allied Subjects (continued)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Prayer in Islam (illustrated), by M. Yakub Khan. 36 pp.	2	6		Wright. Cr. 8vo, 171 pp.	6	6	
Jinnah, by Hector Bolitho. 244 pp.	18	0		The Persian Mystics. The invocations of Sheikh 'Abdullah Ansari of Herat (1005-1090 C.E.). Translated by Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi	6	0	
Islam in the U.S.S.R., Turkey and Europe, by S. M. Ahmed. Cr. 8vo, 312 pp.	12	0					
The Preachings of Islam, by Sir Thomas Arnold. Demy 8vo, 502 pp.	1	5	0				
Qur'an Primer. 29 pp.	1	6					

Religion, Philosophy, Mysticism, etc.

Books by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din.

Religion of Jesus and Traditional Christianity. 77 pp.	2	0	
Message of Islam. Demy 8vo, 74 pp.	3	0	
Human Faculties and their Development. 35 pp.	1	0	
With Difficulty is Ease. Demy 8vo, 16 pp.	8		
Islam to East and West. 204 pp.	6	0	
Modernization of the Islamic Form of Devotion. Demy 8vo, 15 pp.	8		

Books by Muhammad Ali

The Anti-Christ, Gog and Magog. 91 pp.	6	0	
Islam the Religion of Humanity. 22 pp.	6		
Islamic Law of Marriage and Divorce. 50 pp.	1	6	
The Living Thoughts of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. 142 pp.	5	0	

Islam and Socialism, by K. N. Ahmad. Royal 8vo, 16 pp.	9		
--	---	--	--

Jesus in Heaven on Earth, by K. N. Ahmad. Royal 8vo, 500 pp.	10	0	
--	----	---	--

Avicenna on Theology. Translated from Arabic by A. J. Arberry	6	0	
---	---	---	--

The Message of Islam, by A. Yusuf Ali. Résumé of the teachings of the Qur'an with special reference to the spiritual and moral struggles of the human soul	6	0	
--	---	---	--

Studies in Islam and Christianity, by M. S. Dudley			
Prices subject to change			

CAN BE OBTAINED FROM :

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England

also from AZEEZ MANZIL, BRANDRETH ROAD, LAHORE, WEST PAKISTAN

Educational Books

Arabic Grammar with Key, by G. W. Thatcher, M.A. 461+99 pp.	1	1	6
Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition. Edited by H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramer. Prepared by a number of leading Orientalists. The work will consist of 100 parts of 64 pages each. On the completion of each 20 parts a binding case will be furnished, so that the complete work will consist of 5 stout volumes. Each part	15	0	
The Concise Oxford English Dictionary. 1,528 pp.	1	10	0
English-Arabic, Arabic-English Dictionary, by E. S. Elias (school size). 692 pp.	15	0	
English-Arabic, Arabic-English Dictionary, by E. S. Elias (pocket size). 877 pp.	2	15	0
A Grammar of the Arabic Language, by W. Wright, in two volumes. 767 pp.	7	6	
Teach Yourself Arabic, by Professor A. S. Tritton. 294 pp.			
Shorter's Encyclopaedia of Islam. Includes all the articles contained in the first edition and supplement of the Encyclopaedia of Islam which relate particularly to the religion and law of Islam. S. Roy. 8vo, 671 pp.	4	4	0
The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, by Dr. S. M. Iqbal. A valuable book for Muslim Youth of today. 205 pp.	1	0	0
The Teachings of Islam, by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Cr. 8vo, 212 pp.	2	0	

Postage and Packing Extra

Have you got a Qur'an on your bookshelf?... if not, order one now

THE HOLY QUR'AN

Arabic Text with English Translation and commentary by Maulana Muhammad 'Ali.

CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS :

1. It is the best and most authentic work on the market.
2. The cost is comparatively low.
3. Introductory notes give the abstract of each chapter in sections, showing at the same time the connection of the various chapters with one another.
4. The translation is more faithful to the Arabic text than all the existing English translations.
5. In this work will be found gathered together the wealth of authentic Muslim theology. References to Arabic lexicon, Muslim commentaries, books of Hadith, are found throughout the work.
6. Wherever the author has differed with previous translators or commentators he mentions the fact separately, leaving it to the reader whether to accept it or not. Thus his annotations are free from sectarian influence with wonderful impartiality.
7. Index of Arabic phrases and words.
8. General Index: If you want to know the Qur'anic opinion on any subject just consult the general index.

AVAILABLE IN TWO QUALITIES:

FIRST QUALITY: India paper with imitation leather binding.

(Your companion in travel — light to carry)

Price £3-0-0 Postage 2/-

SECOND QUALITY: Opaque paper with cloth binding.

(For general use at home)

Price £2-0-0 Postage 2/6d.

Can be obtained from:

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST
Woking - Surrey - England